



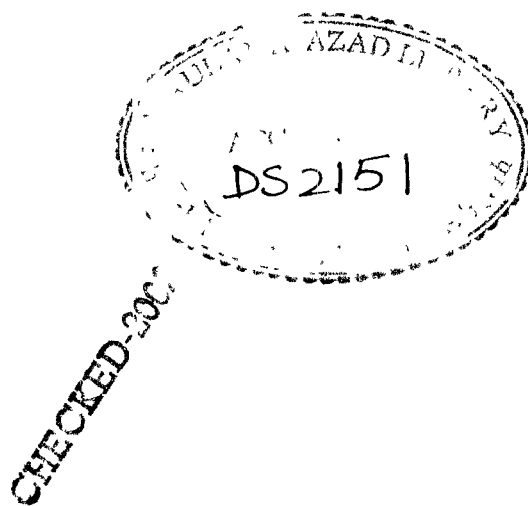
# **CASTE AND CLASS IDENTITY AMONG MUSLIMS: A CASE STUDY OF VILLAGE KUSSORI, DISTT. BASTI.**

By  
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A Dissertation Submitted to the  
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**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that **Mr. Fareed Ahmad Khan** has worked under my supervision for preparing his dissertation on **Caste and Class Identity Among Muslims: A Case Study of Village KUSSORI, District Basti**. I consider it suitable for submission for the award of the M.Phil. degree.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'A. Matin'.

( DR. ABDUL MATIN )

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 The Problem Under Study

The present study is mainly based on field work carried on in a village named Kussori, located in Basti district in Uttar Pradesh. In Kussori, the households of the Khan caste were mainly *zamindars*. Their *zamindaris* were not only confined to Kussori but extended to nearby villages. For efficient management of the *zamindaris* they had to settle in different villages. However, they retained contacts with their *patrick* (origin) village. The significance of *patrick* village is evident from the burial practice. After death, the dead body is brought to the *patrick* village for the burial purpose. The graveyard of the *patrick* village is used and this practice is continuing even during the time of my field study.

Beteille (1965) has pointed out that landlord Brahmins had opted for modern education to get government jobs for retaining their higher status in Sripuram. This phenomenon is similar in

the Kussori village. It has been observed that Khans who were landlords have retained their status by adopting modern english education. In the fourth chapter this aspect has been examined. It has been observed that Khans have sold their cultivable land which were not manageable because of long distance from the village or which could be encroached by chamars for *abadi* homestead purpose. These cultivable land were mainly sold to the other Ashraf castes viz. Sheikhs and Siddiqui.

Due to Panchayat Raj System it is seen that village is linked with Block, District and State machinery of the government. At the time of the election of Assembly and Parliament it has been reported that some villagers are actively involved in election campainings. These people are influential in the area. They are approached by all parties for favors. These village elites are related to the party members and bosses at the district, state and central levels.

The main thrust in this study is to examine the caste and class identity among Muslims in Kussori. However, educational and political aspects have also been taken into consideration. These phenomena have been examined in chapter 4. The physical structure of the village has been described in chapter 3. Caste is defined as a system of social stratification in which things are hierarchically organized and ritually separated. And class

is defined as a system of social stratification in which things are economically stratified. And finally concluding chapter analyses the changing relations between them.

Caste as it functions among the Hindus. And caste as it exists and functions among the Muslims and other non Hindu groups of Indian society according to Ansari (1960) has often been recognized that Muslim social structure is also organized according to caste principles. In Kussori caste structure constituted the basis of the social interaction. This phenomenon is found in Basti District in general. In the village, caste structure divides the population into unequal categories. But this inequality is not based on ritual purity as it is found among Hindus but on lineage and economic basis. It has been observed that Khans (who are landlords) are settled towards the right side of the main entrance. There are only three families of the *zamindars* but they occupy almost one third of the total village homestead area. They own about one third of the cultivable land in the village. Kasais (butchers) settled at the out skirt of the village. Chamar mangtas who are treated as a special category, have settled at a distance from the main village. Similar pattern has been reported by Beteille (1965). The settlement pattern of Kussori village reflects the continuation of the traditional Hindu caste structure.

There is a controversy among sociologists about the concept of caste and class for the study of Indian Society. The protagonist of the caste studies show a bias for its continuance and functionality (Hutton, 1964; Furnivall, 1939; Senart, 1930). The advocates of class studies have different ideological upbringings and look at everything from the point of class alone (Desai, 1948). Due to this a combination of concepts have been applied for deeper and realistic understanding of the Indian society. Caste as the singular institution of social ranking has been characteristic argument during fifties in the studies of Ghurye, Myrdal, Leach, Srinivas, Marriott and Lewis. All of them have treated caste as coterminous with the entire gamut of social relations and thought it to be an all inclusive basis of social stratification (Beteille, 1969:17). Multidimensionality of social stratification is emphasized in the sixties in the studies conducted by Beteille (1965), Bhatt (1975), and Aggarwal (1971). Ramkrishna Mukharjee (1957), Kathleen Gough (1960) and Joan Mencher (1974), however, look at caste from a class point of view. Class is considered as a characteristic feature of the western society and is characterized by its emphasis on democracy, individualism and openness. On the contrary, caste as the core feature of the Indian society is defined as an archaic institution lacking in democracy, individualism and freedom (Sharma, 1980). To Beteille (1965:3-4)

"Caste can be viewed as a system of enduring groups whose mutual relations are governed by certain broad principles. Caste as enduring groups can be located with relative ease, since they are named and have fairly well defined boundaries. Classes are categories rather than groups. By class we mean a category of persons occupying a specific position in the system of production". In the agrarian economy of the Kussori the class system consists of landlords, land owners, tenants, agricultural laborers and other petty business men. Relations which are found among them that are depending upon standardized character and are of fluid in nature. However, it has been observed that persons whose economic condition is sound belong to landlord/*zamindari* background. Those, whose economic condition is not sound, belong to non-*zamindari* background. Normally, one whose caste status is high is high in class status too. But there are few exceptions. All these have been examined in chapter 4.

Caste and class identity is related to the broader phenomenon of social stratification in different ways. Caste system is clearly a hierarchical system. In the class system such as landlords, tenants and agricultural laborers also constitute hierarchy. Due to modern type of education and political power a small tenants could be more powerful than a small landlord. However, such things were not found in Kussori. Due to education and political power we find that traditional

hierarchy is maintained in the village. This aspect has been examined in the section on case studies in chapter 4.

Education was the monopoly of the landlords in the past. We do not find any drastic changes in this trend in Kussori. No doubt there is a school in the village at present. But this school provides only religious teaching. Modern education which opens avenues for government jobs is the monopoly of the landlord families. Education as such has not helped in changing the rigidity of the caste system. On the contrary, it has strengthened it. It has been examined in chapter 4. To quote Beteille (1965:5) "Education not only enables the Non-Brahmans and Adi-Dravidas to compete on more equal terms with the Brahmins for white-collar jobs, but also provides them with more equal chances of political participations". Such is not the case in Kussori. Unlike Sripuram, in Kussori Ashrafs are more educated than the Non-Ashrafs. Consequently, Ashrafs are taking more advantages of the modern education than the non-Ashrafs with a few exceptions. In this study, Ashraf refers to the following castes: Khan, Sheikh and Siddiqui. Non-Ashraf refers to the following castes in the present study: Ansari, Kashai, Dhunia, Nai, Kankali, Gaddi, Mali, Bhangi, Nat and Darji. The traditional elite of Kussori, comprised of khans who were landlords, their control over the village affairs is not the same today as it was earlier. This is manifested in the elections of

the village. However, one leader who comes from the non-zamindar family has influence in a small section of the village.

Changes which have taken place in the social system of the Kussori can be viewed from different point of ways. It can be said that in Kussori a relatively closed social system is being transformed into one which is relatively open. A closed system is one in which different elements such as caste and class identity are combined in broadly the same way. Caste system which is said as closed, however, there is no system in absolute terms which was found as closed. Kussori exemplified some of the distinctive features of the caste system. Even at present the role of caste could be seen in the sphere of economic, political, educational and other spheres of life among Khans (a dominant caste in Kussori). Today some of the dominating authority of the Khans have been challenged by other castes.

To quote Weber (1970: 182) it is meaningful to talk of classes only in a market economy: " Always this is the generic connotation of the concept of class: that the kind of chance in the market is the decisive movement which presents a common condition for the individual's fate. 'Class situation' is, in this sense, ultimately 'market situation' ". Since market forces have played important part in the life of the people of Kussori. It is related to the caste system of the village. It is seen that it

is those caste who are already high at the rung of caste system they have developed in the class sense also by utilizing their past economic conditions.

Bailey's (1957) study in an Orrisa Village has shown that land which was formerly concentrated within the Warrior caste has gradually dispersed. Gough (1955, 1960) has indicated a similar trend in a village very close to Sripuram. Such trends are not found in Kussori. It has been observed that land are sold by Muslims to the Muslims of Kussori only.

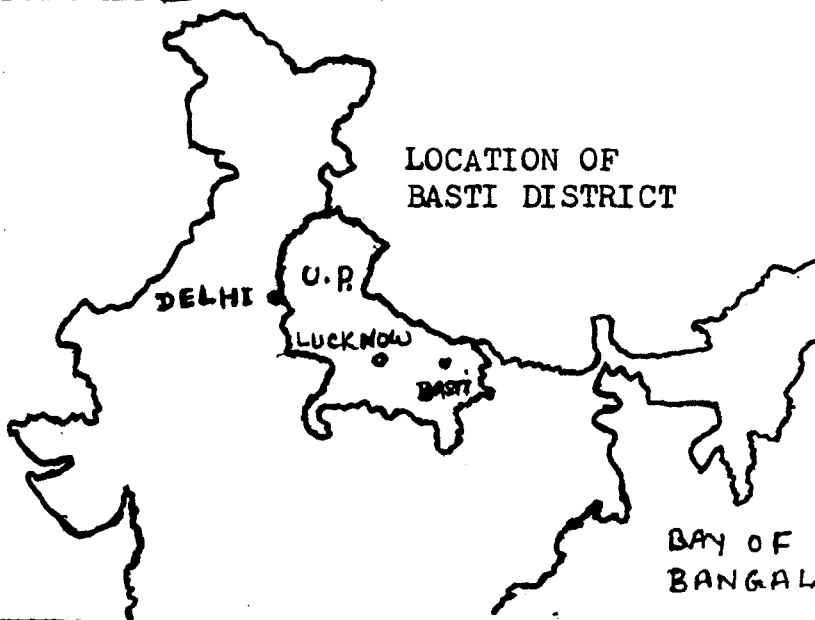
## **1.2 Methodology**

This study is based on field study at Kussori, district Basti, carried on during August-September, 1992. I hail from the same village. Therefore, I had least problems in establishing rapport with the respondents in the village. They did not look upon me with suspicion. I usually went to the houses of my respondents for responses. I had some problems with the kankalis in seeking responses. It was resolved by some elderly members of the village at the village tea stall. This tea stall is the meeting point for the villagers. The present study is mainly based on qualitative data. It has also been supplemented with quantitative data.

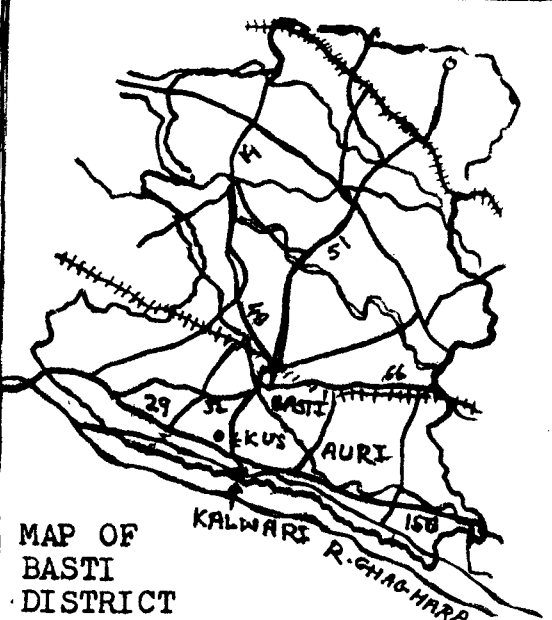


My field work was done in a planned way. To quote Beteille (1965: 10-11) I did not enter the field "Armed with a battery of hypotheses", Unlike him in my study, I began with a battery of hypothesis. I applied different methodology in the collection of data such as Case Study, Interview, Participant Observation. My objective was broader one. I wanted to understand in the broadest sense of the term, the village and its social life. This presentation is based on an understanding to which facts of a much broader range have contributed. In the understanding of facts, it might have been colored by my own socio-economic position. To quote Mannheim (1936: 111), "the fact that our thinking is determined by our social position is not necessarily a source of error. On the contrary, it is often the path to political insight". Map 1.1 shows the location of Kussori in Basti district. It also shows the location of Basti district in the province of Uttar Pradesh.

# LOCATION OF BASTI DISTRICT



## MAP OF BASTI DISTRICT



WAY TO GULHARIA

POND

MATTA

MOSQUE

KANKALI

ELECTRIC SUB. STA.

WAY TO KALWARI

KASHI S.C.

DARJI SHEIKH GADDI

S.T.

BAKHARIA

MOSQUE

MALI

MALI BHANGI (HALAKHOR)

MALI ANSARI

## MAP OF VILLAGE KUSAURI ( NOT ON SCALE )

SHEIKH SHAIKH NAI

SHEIKH SHODIQUI

SHEIKH

SHEIKH

SHEIKH

ANSARI, NAT, MALI, DHU

S.C.

SHEIKH

## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"Caste" has been widely used to describe ranked groups within rigid systems of social stratification and especially those which constitute the society of Hindu India. Among social scientists, and especially among those who have worked in India, there are basically two views: (1) that the caste system is to be defined in terms of its Hindu attributes and rational and therefore, is unique to India or at least to south Asia; (2) that the caste system is to be defined in terms of structural features which are found not only in Hindu India but in a number of other societies as well. Those who hold the latter view find caste groups in Arabian Peninsula, Polynesia, north Africa, east Africa, Guatemala, Japan, aboriginal North America, and the contemporary United States.

Units of very different scale have been denoted by the word "caste" as well as by vernacular terms, of which jati is the most common. Such units include reference categories extending throughout India, hereditary occupational units (such

as barbers, tanners), and the endogamous units within the occupational units. The caste system of India is unique in the religious ritual which explains it, in its complexity, and in the degree to which the constituent caste can also be defined in terms which give the concept of cross-cultural applicability.

A.L. Kroeber (1930: 254) has defined caste as "an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions".

A caste system, can be said to occur when a society is composed of birth ascribed, hierarchically ordered, and culturally distinct groups (castes). The hierarchy entails differential evaluation, differential rewards, and differential association. The earliest written mention of division in Indian society refers to the distinction between the autochthonous Dasa and the immigrant Arya populations. Later texts specify a three fold and then to four fold division of society into Brahmana (Priestly), Rajanya or Kshatriya (warrior-ruler), Vaishya (merchant), and Shudra (Servant) varna, with the population outside this scheme being subsequently categorized as untouchable. The varna formed hierarchy marked by differing material and spiritual privileges. A number of theories about caste devote themselves to explaining its origin. These include the hypothesis that the system was

created by the Brahmins for their own benefit (Sherring 1974: 231). The classical view has been described by Manu (Mayer 1968: 341) that castes have evolved from unions between members of different varna. It has also been suggested that caste were formed on "a community of function" through common occupation in a division of labor (Nesfield, 1885: 88). An alternative theory claims that the underlying principle was a physical antipathy of Arya for Dasa, resulting in an endogamy that produced measurable physical distinctions, so that one could almost say for a least certain regions of India that "a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose" (Risley 1891: xxxiv). Hocart (1950: 68) suggests that the functions and concomitant purity of participants in court rituals became hereditary, and when this organization later separated to meet the ritual requirements of the rest of the population a ritual ranked hierarchy was created. Others maintain that the system arose from Aryan Institutions that were adopted to the conditions found in India (Senart 1930: 213). Hutton (1964: 164) is even less ambitious, giving only a list of 15 factors whose concentration contributed to the emergence of the caste system. Weber (1921: 130-131) suggests that the institution could have been produced only by the convergence of several major factors.

Dumont (1970) considers inequality based on the caste system as a special type of inequality. 'Ideas and values' are

considered by Dumont as the basis for knowing actual and observable behavior of the people. For Dumont therefore, the idea of the pure and the impure is the basis for understanding the caste system. This idea is the basis for hierarchy in Hindu society. Dumont's main concern is with the traditional social organization of India from the point of view of values and ideas. He constructs an ideal type of the caste system based on ethnographic and indological research materials. Madan (1971: 1806-1808) upholds Dumont's view that hierarchy is a 'universal necessity'. Caste is a very complex system precisely because caste is not simply a ritualistic system of power relations and economic activities. If it gets weakened in one aspect, it also gets strengthened in other aspects with certain alterations, additions and assertions.

According to K.L.Sharma, there is no uniform pattern of caste structure in actual terms throughout India (1986: 18-19). The same can be said about class structure. Both caste and class bear ideological contents and are conceptual elements. Both have substantive elements as existential and mundane schemes of relations. There are thousands of castes in India with different names and nomenclatures, but there are only about five or six classes throughout the country. These apparent basis of social division in Indian society are not realistically very different from each other. There are numerous 'middle classes' which are

not directly related to 'production processes' they are an offshoot of the modern Indian state apparatus. One obvious inference is that there is a caste basis of class and class basis of caste. There is a class basis of rituals, pollution-purity, and other apparently non-material aspects of social life. Jat Sabha is not a simple caste association; in effect, it is a peasant's organization. Kisan Sabha is not a simple peasant's organization, it is very much an association of castes engaged in agriculture, particularly Jats in northern India and their counterparts in other states.

Structural aspect of caste is explained by accepting it as a general principle of stratification (Barth, 1960: 113-46), (Berreman, 1957: 45-73). Caste as a cultural system is understood in terms of prominence of ideas of pollution-purity and notions of hierarchy segregation and corporateness (Dumont, 1970), (Leach, 1960: 1-10). Caste is also viewed as a 'closed system' of stratification (Bailey, 1963: 107-124). Whereas Beteille (1966: 224-46) considers caste as 'closed' as well as 'open' systems. He finds that caste is becoming increasingly 'segmentary' because of the emergence of "differentiated structures" in India. Caste is not really a very flexible system, yet it permits mobility in certain areas to its members. A given caste is guided by norms of the caste system, have inter caste dependence; but a given caste has also its autonomy in regard

to observance of its practices, rituals and protection of its rights in relation to other castes. In fact, caste has adopted itself as it confronted innumerable varied situations, forces and constraints. Caste has evolved simultaneously in several directions and adjusted with ideologically antagonistic systems. It has not allowed the emergence of an alternative system of stratification and social relations though it has undergone significant changes from time to time (Sharma, 1977: vii). There is no point therefore, in enumerating features and functions of the caste system with their descriptions as done by Risley (1969: 47), Ketkar (1909: 15), Senart (1930: 35), Hutton (1964), Furnivall (1939), Sherring (1974: 214), Ghurye (1950: 18). Caste has been ecologized as a positive and functional system in the writings of the British ethnographers and some Indian scholars. Srinivas (1979: 237-42) notes that even today agricultural production requires cooperation of several castes. The use of the caste idiom is quite widespread. Even Karl Marx (1951, 1965) related the Asiatic mode of production to the stability of the caste system in India. Similarly H.J.S. Maine (1890) has considered caste as an illustration of a non-contractual 'status -society'. Dumont (1970) and Bogle (1971) have considered caste as an ideological system of a unique nature. Such a view was earlier held by Hocart (1950). Max Weber (1970) too has considered caste as a system of status stratification. All of them have explained caste as



basically a cultural system implying that significant structural changes have not occurred in Indian society due to its stable character and cultural ethos.

Srinivas' concept of 'dominant caste' (1959b) and his collection of essays on caste (1962), K.S. Mathur's book on caste and ritual (1964), Marriott's studies on caste (1959, 1965, 1968a, 1968b) and Kothari's works on the role of the caste system in Indian politics (1970a, 1970b) are some of the notable examples of "Caste view" model. Emphasis in these studies has been singularly on the hegemony or over-determination of caste cultural/normative criteria rather than economic and political one. However, in late sixties and seventies "multiple criteria" (Hazlehurst, 1968: 38-57), "levels of caste dominance" (Dube, 1968: 83-97) and "levels of mobility in caste system, structural processes of change and downward mobility" (Sharma, 1969, 1974, 1980, 1983a) have been discussed with a conscious intent to counter the falsity of the culturalogical concepts like dominant caste, pollution purity, sanskritization and westernization. D'souza (1967: 192-211) draws a simple and mechanical distinction between caste and class. He is obviously guided by the American notion of class. Class for D' Souza is a result of what he calls objective rating of positions based on certain attributes. Here D'souza refers to the rigidity-fluidity dimension of social stratification implying class as a case of fluidity and caste as

referring to rigidity. Caste as a system of social stratification represents a semblance of rigidity and fluidity, cooperation and competition, holism and individualism, organic and segmentary divisions, interdependence and autonomy and inequality and equality, etc. Weber's notion of 'status group' has been equated with 'caste group' and his notions of 'class' 'class situation' and 'market situation' have been found relevant for studying class in India.

Since caste incorporates class and class incorporates caste, neither 'caste view' alone nor 'class view' alone would explain the totality of India's social reality (Sharma, 1986: 23). Researches by Stein (1968), Panikkar (1955), and others have shown that a perfect congruence between caste, class and power never existed in the pre-British India. Probably migration were quite normal activities particularly resulting from warfare for acquiring powers and revolts against the atrocities committed by the rulers and upper caste priests. In recent years, land reforms, adult franchise and certain constitutional provision have brought about incongruities in summation of status. Kosambi (1958: 86-87) analyses the Aryans after the Rig Veda from the point of their economic formation. Thapar (1974: 95-123), Habib (1974: 264-316), and Desai (1948) have analyzed class character of Indian society in ancient, medieval and modern India, respectively. H.B. Lamb (1975: 25-34) reports prevalence of class

relations as early as 600 B.C. in India. Material and cultural traditions existed in a congruent form, and class transformation had been a vital fact in the form of new kingdoms, settled agriculture, trade, cities, and banking and guild organizations.

According to Sharma (1986: 23-24) both caste and class are the real dimensions of India's social formation, and by and large inseparable from each other. Class is not simply a category conceptually abstracted. It is not simply a construct based on certain attributes, or indices operationally derived. Classes of land owners, or landless laborers, traders and money lenders are not abstractions, but they are existential structural components of India's class structure. Interactional ties (both conflict and cooperation) between them refer to their life situations. Caste and class nexus is highlighted by Gough (1980: 337-64) in her analysis of mode of production as a social formation in which she finds inter-connections of caste, kinship, family and marriage with forces of production and production relations. The Marxist-ideologies Nambodiripad (1979: 329-36) and Ranadive (1979: 337-48) consider class relationships as domain assumption in the treatment of caste and kinship in India. Even Varna and Jajmani systems have been explained in terms of class relations and the mode of production (Meillassoux, 1973: 89-111). A 'class view' of social structure and social relations is found in the analysis of several others including Djurfeldt Goran and J. Lindberg (1975), H.

Singh (1979), Thorner (1974), Saith and Tanakha (1972: 712-23) and Bharduaj and Das (1975: 222-23).

Caste and class represent to a large extent the same structural reality. Singh (1968: 171) rightly comments on caste and class nexus: "The situation corresponds to a 'prismatic' model of change where traditional sentiments of caste and kinship undergo adaptive transformation without completely being 'diffracted' into classes or corporate group. Classes operate within the framework of castes." Caste conflicts are also class conflicts as the gap between the upper and lower castes is also the same that one finds between the high and low classes. Castes also function as classes as they are geared for performing their class interests. Therefore common class consciousness among the members of a caste are mainly due to their common economic deprivations. Caste associations particularly in urban context perform economic and political functions for the benefit of their respective members. Thus castes are more of interactional groups rather than attributional constructs. Joan Mencher (1974: 469) finds caste as a very effective system of economic exploitation of lower caste precisely due to this the upper caste (in the garb of exploiting classes) have not allowed emergence of class consciousness among the lower classes as

they feared a threat to their entrenched status in India's social structure.

The concept of class in regard to Indian society, Marx himself stated about caste and traditional ethos of village communities in his two articles on India in 1853 in the New York Daily Tribune (1951). Initially Marx thought of Asiatic mode of production by which he meant absence of private property in land and static nature of economy due to a certain tie up between caste, agriculture and village handicrafts. However, Kurian (1980: 96-106) observes the analysis of Asiatic mode does not deny the role of class contradictions and class structures. India's pre capitalist economic formation was neither classless nor static social relations and exploitation were based on both caste and class side by side. Different forms of communal societies, forms of slavery and bondage, and feudal relations have existed in different combinations in the same areas at the same time.

Ashok Rudra (1978: 916-23) while analyzing the class composition of the Indian agricultural population observes that there are only two classes in Indian agriculture, one of which is termed 'the class of big landlord' the other 'the class of agricultural laborers'. These two classes are in antagonistic contradiction with each other, and this contradiction constitutes the principal contradiction in Indian rural society. Similar to

Rudra's view is the view held by Desai (1948, 1975). Rudra and those who adhere to his view do not accept the view that class differentiation in terms of agricultural laborers, poor peasants, middle peasants, rich peasants, landlords, etc. exists today and even existed in medieval India (Sharma, 1983b). Kosambi (1958), accepts modes of production as the basis of understanding of class relations, but does not accept the hypothesis of "economic determinism" and universal application of Marxism as a monolithic frame of reference and a method of study. Concepts specifically relevant for studying Indian society could be evolved from its historicity and experience. D.P. Mukerji (1958) and Daniel Thorner (1974), for example, have used indigenous concepts drawing from agrarian relations and India's cultural heritage. Even Utsa Patnaik (1976: A82-A101) who uses notions of mode of production and differentiation of peasantry borrowed from writings of Mao and Lenin rejects a mechanical acceptance of Marx model of study. She observes that several modes of production co-exist in India and there has been a limited and distorted development of capitalism. Sharat G. Lin (1980) makes a reference of interpretation and integration of pre-capitalist and capitalist relations.

Nexus between class and caste Gough (1960: 11-60) has analyzed conflicts and litigations between different castes in a Tanjore village based on economic inequalities. The mix of caste

and class in East Bengal (Mukherjee, R. K. 1957), and class genesis of caste structure in Bengal (Bose 1967), and changes from caste to class by B.B. Misra (1964), Beteille (1969: 17-31), Miller (1975), and Kolenda (1978), have been reported. Some scholars (Desai, 1948, 1975, 1980, and Bettelheim 1968), have undertaken a class analysis of India's social formation considering caste, religion, family and politics as subservient to class relations. However, Harris (1982) and Gail Omvedt (1982) have analyzed class relations as a dominant causality within which they explain caste and other cultural aspects in Indian society. The scholars of latter disposition have objected to the culturalogical determinism as advocated by Srinivas (1952, 1976), Dumont (1970) and several others of their persuasion. Parvathamamma (1978: 91) while commenting on Srinivas' Remembered village writes: "In all the writings of Srinivas, the Brahman-non-Brahman values are Juxtaposed". Hierarchy based on pollution-purity remains intrinsic to Srinivas, thinking in regard to all aspects of human life even it is actually not so pronounced. However, Bailey (1963: 107-24) incorporates both cultural and structural dimensions in the definition of caste. Class as an analytic notion is used by Beteille (1965), Bhatt (1975) and Aggarwal (1971) as they draw a distinct line of demarcation between caste, class and power. Emergence of grades within a caste have also been referred as class-like changes within

caste. Hypergamy within caste endogamy always refers to status distinctions based on economic position and parental heritage, and therefore, class grades have always been there as part of the caste system itself. Class is not a result of the new forces of change which have affected the caste system. Changes are in the traditional caste class relations and not in caste alone paving way to emergence of class relations. Thus, classes are found as a part of system of social stratification in the same way as castes are rooted in the Indian society. There is no universal and monolithic nature of class, class relations and class conflict. There are certainly objective criteria of class identification and determination of class position. A class is certainly a concrete unit of interaction with other units.

Some empirical studies reveal a high concentration of socially backward castes among tenant cultivators. The study by Reddy and Murthy (1978: 1061-76) show that as many as 73 per cent of the pure tenant cultivators belong to the backward castes, and of the owner-cum-tenant cultivators 70 per cent belong to these backward caste. The backward caste tenant cultivators are predominant in the small and medium size groups. The socially backward castes in Andhra Pradesh consist of Bettihaliji and Harijan, and the socially advanced castes consist of Brahman, Kapu, Devanga and others. Thus, most of the tenants of small and medium size belong to economically and socially



depressed caste and pure rent receivers except twelve per cent belong to the dominant castes. Mukherjee (1981: 112) cites the example of caste-riots to explain the unidimensionality of caste, class and religion. He writes "caste riots are frequent in those areas where the caste wise 'Social' deprivations are manifestly correlated with the class-wise economic deprivations; such as in Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, etc." According to Mukherjee these caste contradictions are due to inherent class contradictions in the caste system. Vagiswari (1972) observes that the non-Harijans have proletarianised between 1950 to 1970, while the non-Harijans have improved their economic standing during the same period.

The Dalits or Harijans have been attacked, murdered, their women folk raped and put to indignities. Arun Sinha (1977: 2037-40) observes that it is 'class war' against Harijans, and not atrocities. In another despatch to Economic and Political Weekly Sinha (1978: 675-76) observes that "in the villages of Bihar, the rise of a rich peasant class has driven agricultural laborers of all castes—Chamars, Dusadhs, Kurmis, Yadaus, Bhuminhrs, and so on to foresake of their caste organizations and fight along trade union lines." This shows that 'class war' cuts across caste lines.

The incidents of massacre, loot and rape of Scheduled caste in Belchi, Agra, Pantnagar, Marathwada and Bajitpur, among other places, show the role of the caste system vis-a-vis class struggle and class organization as reported by Atyachar Virodhi Samiti (1979: 845-52). The Samiti investigated the nature and extent of repression of scheduled castes in Marathwada in Maharashtra who were also poor peasants and agricultural laborers. The specific oppression and exploitation of women among the rural poor both sexually and as a class, particularly the Dalit women have been highlighted in the report by the Samiti. The findings and observations of the Atyachar Virodhi Samiti on caste is seen as caste as a relation of production.

The view of the Samiti: "caste is one of the most important aspect of Indian society. It represents a specific form of oppression at the level of relations of production. To say that there are only class issues, nothing like questions pertaining to caste, is totally absurd, because of the material reality that caste divisions beyond purely '(economic) classes yet persist. So issues around specific caste questions must be taken by all the progressive and Leftist dalits and non dalits and organizations (Samiti 1979: 852). A report from a village in Punjab by Amrinder Pal Singh (1979: 1753-54) shows that farm workers are Harijans and rich farmers are Jats and Sikhs. The principal demand of the village workers is an increase in the wage rates. The big and

middle peasants are united in opposition to the agricultural laborers. Thus, both class and caste are found inseparably in the tense situation. Convergence of caste and class has been reported by P.K. Rose (1981: 713-16) in Gujrat against reservation of seats for post-graduate medical courses, and in Bihar against for reserving 44 per cent of government jobs for the backward classes. Scarce resources and employment opportunities are the main cause of caste convergence. The B.P. Mandal Commission for Backward classes was faced with the problem of caste and class convergence. The commission thought that caste and class hierarchies went together and therefore, caste was considered as the basis of determining backwardness of a given members of society. In the context of Bihar Arvind N. Vyas (1984: 1616-19) observes that appararently the phenomenon of caste is found in its virulent form, but to ignore the concept of class is to undermine the concrete conditions of the state.

Classes are found in India in caste idiom. A Marxist explanation of this: caste should be analyzed in regard to its nature, its material basis in history and in the present, and its role in politics. Which castes are the ruling ones, and which ones own the land and the capital, employ wage-laborers and extract surplus caste division hamper progress and unity among the oppressed classes. According to this view all classes are defined by the relations in which the various sections of

society are found related to the means of production, and castes are a carryover of feudal class divisions. The Annual Number of Economic and Political Weekly of 1979 is specially devoted to 'class and caste in India' implying a class view of caste and not vice versa. The titles in this volume include, 'Dialectics of Caste and Class Conflicts', "Caste and Class: an inter linked view", "Caste Conflicts versus Growing unity of Popular Democratic Forces",. "Caste, Class and Property Relations", "Caste and Class in Maharashtra" "Class and Caste in Tribal Movement", "Caste Class and Economic Opportunity in Kerala: an empirical analysis", "Castes and Class in Bihar", and "Class and Jati at Asthapuram and Kanthapuram", etc. All these studies report caste and Class Nexus, use of caste, class and religion for gaining political power, emergence of an elite class in every caste, an inter linked view of caste and class, realization of caste idioms in power game, role of caste in agrarian and social movements.

Loius Dumont (1970) considers caste as a method of studying Indian society. To him, caste is 'social' as religion is 'social' to Redcliffe Brown and Durkheim. Dumont approvingly quotes from Hocart, Senart and hutton who have advocated for continuity of caste system by emphasizing the functions of caste system for individual members, for caste as a group and for the entire Indian society or state (Hutton 1964). They make a sharp

distinction between caste and class. Class is considered as a characteristic feature of the western society and is characterized by its emphasis on democracy, individualism and openness. On the contrary, caste as the core feature of the Indian society is defined as an archaic institution lacking in democracy, individualism and freedom (Sharma 1980).

The structural-functional theory of social stratification dominated in the fifties. Congruence between caste, class and power was found in the village community. Division of labor among various castes in a given local situation was found desirable. Corporate character of caste groups was analyzed with regard to intra caste and inter caste relations. Structuralism and Marxism as explanations of and approaches to social stratification acquired prominence in the sixties. Dumont is the spokesman of structuralism. Marxism has been advocated by A.R. Desai and Charles Bettelheim. However, in the seventies, the historical perspective has been accepted by the Marxists as well as non-Marxist in their studies of social stratification. The non-Marxist adherents of structural-historical perspective have given more emphasis on indigenisation of Marxist approach with an emphasis on understanding society in relation to its historicity (Singh, 1974, 1981).

Caste as the singular institution of social ranking has been the characteristic argument during fifties in the studies of Hutton, Ghurye, Hocart, Bougle, Myrdal, Leach, Srinivas, Marriott and Lewis etc. All of them have treated caste as coterminous with the entire gamut of social relations and thought it to be an all-inclusive basis of social stratification (Beteille, 1969: 17). Multidimensionality of social stratification is emphasized in the sixties in the studies conducted by Beteille (1965), Bhatt (1975), and Aggarwal (1971). Class and power along with caste are treated as economic and political dimensions of social inequality and hierarchy. Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1957), Kathleen Gough (1960) and Joan Mencher (1974) however, look at caste from a class point of view. Mencher feels that caste should be studied from "upside down" rather than through "top down" view. Caste is treated by all these scholars as a system of economic relations rather than merely as a system of ritual hierarchy. K.L. Sharma (1974) himself applied both structural and cultural perspectives for understanding social stratification in six villages of Rajasthan.

Functional approach to the study of caste implied that it was a useful institution and it would not change, and also that it would not adopt itself to meet the challenges and exigencies of a variety of situations. Caste was found adoptive and pragmatic system performing as an interest group for its members (Kothari, 1970b). Normative and cultural aspects of caste

have received more attention through analysis of sanskritization and westernization (Srinivas: 1966). Couple of studies have comprehended contemporary changes in the caste system as a movement from its organic nature to its segmentary character, from its closedness to openness and from its emphasis on corporateness to individualism (Bailey, 1957, Miller, 1975).

Srinivas's (1952) study of the role of religion among the Goorgs is an extension of Redcliffe-Brown's functionalism. Religion is sui-generis for Srinivas. Caste and religion are intertwined, hence religion becomes the basis of caste hierarchy. Beteille (1965) in trying to go beyond caste through his 'Caste-Class-Power' analysis is explicitly guided and inspired by Weber's trilogy of class, status and party. In the understanding of Indian social stratification, Structuralism, Marxism and Positivism along with their numerous variations have been accepted more as fads than as relevant theoretical and methodological devices.

Beteille makes a distinction between caste, class and power on the pattern of 'class, status and party' as suggested by the Max Weber (1970). The distinction between these three is justified by Beteille's observation of "the differentiation of institutional structures" and also because he does not find "summation of statuses" (Beteille, 1966; Bailey, 1963). Beteille also noted that

there is a very little preoccupation with purity-pollution rituals in general.

Anil Bhatt's (1975) study of caste, class and politics contains a clear theoretical exposition and objectives of the study. He has borrowed extensively from studies of "comparative politics" and comparative functionalism, and in fact uses the phrase "comparative social stratification". His main focus is on the understanding of "summation of statuses" between the contemporary social structure and politics. This he does by comparing the traditional Indian society with its contemporary setting.

Victor S. D'Souza's (1967, 1968) study of caste and class in Chandigarh highlights the significance of the continuum of the rigidity-fluidity dimensions and also of the individual and his properties as the units of analysis. All this exercise is implicitly patterned on the notion of Positivism of the structural-functionalist variety. His emphasis is on constructing 'order' of classes based on education, occupation and income.

Furnivall, Senart and Hutton listed a couple of functions of caste system in the books they wrote on caste. They propagated that caste was a useful institution for Hindus in particular and for Indians in general. Recently, some more Western Scholars have also lent support to this verdict



inferentially through the findings of their studies (Marriot, 1965). They have stated that caste has a secular aspect. Kothari (1970a) reports that one American scholar even talks of "the democratic incarnation of caste". According to some, caste has even led to the modernization of India's polity. Kothari (1970b) accepts these statements and considers caste apolitical.

Louis Dumont's Homo Hierarchicus is the most well-known exposition of structuralist perspective on social stratification. The pivotal notions of Dumont's structuralism as noted by Y. Singh (1981) are ideology, dialectics, transformation. The basic tenet of caste system is "hierarchy".

A couple of studies on caste and class have taken 'change' as the focal point of analysis. Structural-historical perspective is being applied by those who lay emphasis on the study of differentiation, evolution and change in caste and class in India. Modes of production in agriculture and industry in relation to caste and class have been discussed both by economic historians and anthropologists (Frykenberg, 1969). The Marxists look at the origin or evolution of caste from the point of economic relations. Political activists like Dange (1949), Ranadive (1979) and Namriboodiripad (1979) look at caste as a mechanism of exploitation in the hands of the upper caste. Non-Marxists consider caste not as a super-structural entity, but mainly as

a basic institution of division of labor and harmonic relations.

Mode of production is the key to the Marxist theory of social stratification. A. R. Desai's (1948) study is a well known example of "orthodox Marxism". Other variants of Marxist analysis of caste, class and land relation are the studies of D.P. Mukerji (1958), Kathleen Gough (1980), and Gail Omvedt (1982).

While analyzing caste among Muslims, Ansari (1960) has concluded that social structures among Muslims are also organized according to the caste principles. A consideration of caste among the Muslims at once raises the question whether the term caste can be applied to the system of social stratification of a community which professes a faith other than Hinduism. Leach (1960: 2) has raised this question as to whether caste is best considered as a cultural or as a structural phenomenon. There are two broad points of view on this question. On the one hand, there are some following Weber (1970: 396) take the position that caste is a fundamental institution of Hinduism and its use should be restricted to Hindus or at best to social groups which, though professing other faiths, live with or near Hindu communities. Dumont (1957: 7-22) considers the same within his conceptual framework of 'Pan Indian Civilization'.<sup>1</sup> On the

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1. Leach (1960), Srinivas et.al., (1959a: 135-85) and Dumont (1970) have elaborated this point in their works.

other hand, a second group of sociologists and social anthropologists define caste in structural terms so as to be applicable to the relationship between two or more groups in other religions and societies as well (Bailey, 1963: 107-124; Berreman, 1960: 120-27; and Harper, 1968).

Aggarwal (1978: 141-157), who begins his analysis of the Meos with a fairly broad structural definition of caste as 'a ranked social division in which membership is determined by birth' (1978:142) comes increasingly, as his analysis proceeds, to see the Meos in terms of the cultural characteristics of caste and finally employs the degree of correspondence between them and Hindu caste groups as a basis for characterizing them as a caste.

Mines' (1978: 159-169) view is that the system of social stratification among Tamil Muslims is not comparable in any respect to the Hindu caste system. He contends that the different Muslim subdivisions described by him are not ranked hierarchically and are regarded as approximately of equal status, though there is ranking of individuals in terms of age, wealth and religiousness, etc. (1978: 162). Again he argues that though endogamy occurs, the overriding concern for endogamy is not an account of a 'desire to maintain a purity of blood, as one would expect to find associated with the system of Hindu

caste ranking; but rather arises from a tendency to match spouses who 'share the same economic background and the same cultural and, particularly, religious traditions' (1978: 164).

Rhattacharya (1978: 269-298) designates the system of social stratification among the Muslims of rural West Bengal as a system of inter-ethnic stratification rather than as a caste system and justifies this usage on the ground that it shares certain features of the caste system but is not quite like it' (1978: 270). Similarly, Dube (1978: 57-95) suggests that the social groups she describes from the Laccadive Islands of the South West coast of India are analogous to caste among the Hindus but do not correspond to it in every detail.

Caste among the Hindus is usually defined in terms of a list of cultural characteristics or traits which are supposed to form a syndrome (Leach, 1960: 2). The minimal set of primary characteristics which together constitute the real essence of cast among the Hindus are the following (Hutton, 1964: 49) and Ghurye, 1950).

1. A caste is endogamous.
2. It involves occupational specialization.
3. Castes are hierarchically ordered.
4. Caste has an ideological religious basis involving restriction on social intercourse and commensality.

Exceptions and modification in some

of these features can be found in various parts of India, particularly in the urban areas (Kapadia, 1958).

Muslim groups are endogamous. Occasionally, marriages between two or more social divisions are allowed, especially at the higher levels. Bhattacharya (1978) claims that rules regarding inter-group marriages are in any case largely theoretical as 'there is no evidence to suggest that these rules have ever been put to a test' (1978: 289). He concludes that local Muslim groups in rural West Bengal may conveniently be regarded as endogamous units. Endogamy among caste occurs even in the metropolitan situation described by Siddiqui (1978: 243-268). 'Inter-ethnic marriages, in spite of similarity in class status, are severely discouraged' (Siddiqui, 1978: 258). Siddiqui (1978) shows that endogamy obtains even among the immigrant groups. These he suggests, live in Calcutta detached from their places of origin and periodically go back to them for important life cycle rituals, including marriage. Consequently, their marriages are also arranged according to the norms that govern the local situation and are usually endogamous. Where inter-marriages take place across groups, as is illustrated by the case of marriage of a local girl to an Afghan man, the girl is excluded from her parental family and retains practically no contact with it. It would seem that in all such situations the child belong to the

caste of one parent and the separate caste populations are maintained by this ascription.

Mines (1978) claims that endogamy occurs among the Tamil Muslims studied by him because of a concern among the families for matching spouses in terms of economic background and cultural and religious traditions. He rules out the possibility that endogamy among the groups studied by him has anything to do with the desire to maintain purity of blood. On the contrary, Siddiqui and Ahmad suggest that the occurrence of endogamy is underscored by the notion of ritual purity of blood. Siddiqui (1978: 258) says that 'some sort of sanctity is attached to the purity of descent as is evident from the use of such terms as *Sudh* as against *bisser* or impure, *najib-ut-tarfain* as against *birre* or *birrahe* i.e., of mixed descent'. Ahmad (1978b: 171-204) shows that a notion of ritual not only occurs among the *Seikh* and *Siddiqui* but that it also constitutes the main source of the split between the two marriage circles (1978b: 199). He also points out that family genealogy is frequently used as a means of asserting this ritual purity of blood and bone, and that each family maintains a fairly detailed account of its descent and marriages as proof of its purity of blood. Siddiqui (1978) and Ahmad (1978b) also indicate that notion of ritual

purity of blood is accompanied by a belief in the possibility of its pollution through intermarriage.

The picture in respect of occupational specialization is similar to endogamy. Bhatt's (1978: 207-224) account of Kasuli in Uttar Pradesh and Agarwal's (1978) discussion of the Meo village in Rajasthan provide evidence of the existence of a full-fledged Jajmani system with the locally dominant caste serving as the nucleus of the exchange of goods and services. Bhattacharya (1978) shows that each of the main groups resident in rural West-Bengal is traditionally associated with a particular occupation which is frequently implied in its name and is closely tied to the system of exchange of goods and services characteristic of Hindu India. Similarly, Dube (1978) also points out that the Koyas, the Malumis and the Melachies have specific occupation associated with them and attempts by some groups to break away from their traditional occupation and to encroach upon those of others have resulted in social tensions and strife.

There is a difference in the degree of correspondence between caste and traditional occupation at the various levels of the social hierarchy. Such links seem to be stronger at the bottom of the social hierarchy than at higher levels. For example, Bhattacharya (1978) points out that the upper groups in rural West-Bengal do not claim any hereditary occupation and

live mainly by agriculture. Ahmad (1978b) suggests that the Seikh and Siddiqui are not engaged in any particular traditional occupation though they were originally land record keepers.

Caste hierarchy among the Hindus is based on the relation between pure and impure which leads to a hierarchy of status based on pollution. D'souza (1978: 41-56), while admitting that different Muslim social division in Karnataka and Kerala are hierarchically ranked, does not associate consideration of ritual purity and pollution with the basis of caste ranking. Dube (1978: 78) points out that the social disabilities attached to the lower caste on the Laccadive Island were an integral part of the deference structure. She says, 'their violation did not indicate any possibility of pollution through touch or show, or through the sharing of air, it was a part of the deference structure, emphasizing inequality of status. Siddiqui (1978) and Bhattacharya (1978) are inclined to feel that considerations of ritual purity and pollution are present in the case of the Muslims. Siddiqui (1978) shows that the most common pattern of inter dining is the one confined to one's kin groups or known range within the kin group. 'The symbolic ritual quality of the members of an ethnic group is expressed in such terms as *tat* or *chatai* upon which members can sit, smoke and eat together' (1978: 260). He, however, admits that the idea of pollution in matters of inter dining is limited to clean castes with regard to the unclean



ones. Bhattacharya (1978) claims that the emphasis placed by the higher castes on cleanliness and sense of hygienic as reasons for refusing to eat with the Momins, Patuas and Shahs arises from ritual considerations. 'In reality he says, 'they have a concept of ritual purity and pollution' (1978: 291). Ranking of caste is based quite frequently on a number of non-ritual criteria D'Souza (1978: 41-56) lists four Principal criteria of social ranking among the Moplah Muslims. These are: (a) hypergamy; (b) the amount of dower payable by the husbands to his wife in the event of a divorce; (c) use of special articles of distinction; and (d) segregation and restrictions on social intercourse (1978: 47-9). Bhattacharya (1978) mentions as criteria of ranking the seclusion of women (purdah), performance of ablutions after urination and the observance of daily prayers. Siddiqui (1978) suggests that ranking is based on the nature of occupation, the comparative numerical strength of the groups, and descent. Ahmad (1978) mentions decent, particularly the source from which it is traced and its distance from Muhammad, as well as the degree of Islamization of customs and ritual practices of the groups. According to Dube (1978), social ranking on the Laccadive Islands is based on hypergamy, the nature of

occupation and the relative standing of the caste in the politico economic structures.

Ahmad (1978b) provides detailed data on the pattern of hypergamous marriages and shows how hypergamy has been used by the socially mobile castes. Sheikh Siddiquis as a means of social climbing in their search for a new status identity. Bhattacharya describes, how Sayyad men are allowed to marry women of lower groups but Sayyad women cannot marry below their group. Dube (1978) points out that Koya men can marry Malumi women but the marriage of Koya women with Malumi or Melacheri men is severely discouraged. Such discouragement is also characteristic of the Moplah social divisions describes by D'Souza (1978).

Caste among the Hindus is based on a religious philosophy which supports social divisions, and certain theological notions serve to reinforce them (Dumont, 1970: 36-39). 'Certain Hindu theological notions like Karma and dharma', writes Srinivas, 'have contributed very greatly to the strengthening of the idea of hierarchy which is inherent in the caste system. It also represents certain mile stones on the soul's journey to God' (Srinivas, 1952: 25). Religious and philosophical basis of Hindu caste is so Pronounced that Bergel (1962: 37) feels that the caste system cannot be understood unless it is recognized as a religious institution'. Dumont (1970) sees the religious opposition

of pure and impure as the fundamental structure which makes the social system a unique form.

Hindu ideological justification of the caste system does not exist in the case of Muslims. Aggarwal (1978: 141) cites the Koran's verse which explicitly rejects gradation of groups and individuals in terms of birth and the ideology of pure and impure and suggests that the only criterion of social evaluation recognized in Islam is religious piety. Bhattacharya (1978) notes that the formal religious values of Islam are opposed to any rigid system of ethnic and social stratification as the Islamic Great Tradition does not offer any sanction for it. Siddiqui (1978) also asserts that the existence of an hierarchical order generally receives overt denial from the great traditional values of the Muslims. But the evidence presented by these and other contributors clearly indicates that while the formal religious ideology to which all Muslims claim adherence denies caste distinctions, there is another alternative ideology which recognizes such distinctions and according to which observable social inequalities are correlated to Islamic tenets. Bhattacharya (1978: 294) thus points out: 'To my mind, inequalities in the social status of different Muslim ethnic groups, in contrast to their conscious Islamic model of an egalitarian society, make them mentally insecure. They try to overcome this mental dilemma caused by a sharp contrast between

their ideology and practiced pattern by rethinking the undeniable social fact of status inequality in terms of suitable idioms that can be successfully related to their traditions'. Bhattacharya (1978) goes on to suggest that these idioms are often inadequate as explanations for the complex nature of Muslim social hierarchy and the present of caste features in their social life, but the significant points is that such idioms nevertheless exist. It shows that if the formal Islamic ideology rejects caste, the actual beliefs held by the Muslims not only recognize caste distinctions but also seek to rationalize them in religious terms.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, it is this rationalization that has as Siddiqui (1978: 267) suggests towards the end of his paper, allowed caste distinctions among the Muslims to persist without much evidence of internal conflict. It is clear that caste exists as a basis of social relations amongst them (Muslims), but its form has been greatly weakened and modified and it differs from the Hindu caste model in certain details (Ahmad, 1978a: 12).

Caste exists among the Muslims at once raises the question whether it owes itself directly to the acculturative influence of Hinduism, or are there some elements within Islam itself which

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2. Among all the writers on caste among Muslims, Dumont alone seems to be conscious of this dichotomy of values. He notes that 'lying beneath the ultimate or Islamic values are other values presupposed by actual behaviour' (Dumont, 1970: 211).

support such distinctions. The common view in this connection seems to be that caste is directly attributable to the acculturative influence of Hinduism (Ansari, 1960: 96; Srinivas et al., 1959a: 135-85; S. C. Misra, 1964 and Dumont, 1970: 205-12). Srinivas and his associates suspect that it is likely that Hindus who were converted to Islam continued to regard themselves as castes, while foreign, conquering groups of Muslims, like Arabs and Pathans, fell into the position of upper castes' (1959a: 149). Dumont finds that caste was consciously adopted by the Muslims in India as a compromise which they had to make in a predominantly Hindu environment. After tracing the conflicting nature of the two groups, he suggests that Hindus and Muslims in India entered a sort of tacit and reciprocal compromise on the one hand, the Hindus adjusted themselves to political masters who did not recognize Brahmanic values and 'they did not treat even the most humble Muslim villagers as untouchables' (Dumont, 1970: 205-206). On the other hand, the influence of caste made itself felt among the Muslims. Dumont traces the acceptance of the caste principle by the Muslim to the proximity of the Hindu environment which predominates both generally and regionally (Dumont, 1970: 270). Bhattacharya shows of caste among them as resulting from Hindu influence (1978: 293).

Patnaik (1976: A82-A101) has suggested the E-Criterion model for identifying the agrarian classes in the Indian countryside.

When we look at the data on the ownership and operation of land and the ownership of livestock, implements and other means of production thrown up by the NSS and the farm management studies, there is one fact which emerges strikingly: the high degree of concentration of both land and non-land resources with a minority of cultivators, while the majority have command over a disproportionately low share of resources. The implication of such a high degree of concentration of the means of production is that there is a correspondingly high degree of economic differentiation within the cultivating population. These different types of holdings enter into relations with each other in the production process through labor hiring and land leasing (1976: A83). The Marxist position is that economic classes are to be looked at in terms of the above two related criteria: possession of the means of production, and the exploitation of labor. In an agriculture such as India's, the two poles are readily identified: the landless and near landless who possess no or little means of production and are therefore mainly or wholly dependent on working for others; and the land lords and capitalist, who concentrate sufficient means of production not to need to labor themselves but line on employing others. Precisely in agriculture, however, the middle category of petty producers may be expected to be still fairly numerous: those who possess just sufficient means of production to make a living with family

labor, neither employing the labor of others nor working for others (Patnaik, 1976: A83)

Indeed, it is this type that most people have in mind when they talk about "the peasant": the ideal type of independent petty producer who neither exploits nor is exploited, and it is this type which is supposed to make up "the peasant economy" for those who think that independent petty production is still the defining characteristic of the agriculture of actual economies such as India's. (See for this view point of Thorner (1962).

Patnaik (1976: A85) distinguished five Economic classes: (1) Landlord, (2) Rich peasant, (3) Middle peasant:(i) Upper middle (ii) lower middle (4) Poor peasant and (5) Full-time labourer. (1) The first category contains both big land owners of the feudal type and capitalists, distinguished from the peasants by the fact that family members do not perform manual labor in any major farm operations. (2) The second category is the top stratum of the peasantry, the rich peasants. They perform some manual works in major farm operations and are therefore distinguished from the landlord/capitalists. (3) The middle peasantry is primarily self-employed, since on average its resource position per capita is such as to just employ family labor adequately and provide a livelihood at a customary subsistence level. (a) we

designate as upper middle peasants' those who are net exploiters of others' labor. (b) The lower middle peasants are those who either do not exploit labor at all. (4) The poor peasants' per capita resource position is so bad as to necessitate working mainly for others in order to obtain a subsistence, whether directly through hiring out labor for wages or indirectly through leasing in land even on high rents, or a combination of the two. (5) The full time laborer does not operate land.

For those familiar with their classes, it will be evident that the labor-exploitation criterion suggested above is simply a slight formalisation in terms of a single index which most closely captures class status as well as a synthesis, of the analysis presented both by Lenin (1920) and by Mao Tse-Tung (1930). Lenin (1920) discusses the following classes in the context of the European capitalist countries in 1920: (i) "First, the agricultural, proletariat, wage-laborers (by the year, season, or day) who obtain their livelihood by working for hire at capitalist agricultural enterprises" (ii) "Second, the semi proletarians or peasants who till tiny plots of land, i.e., those who obtain their livelihood partly as wage-laborers. (iii) "Third, the small peasantry, i.e., the small-scale tillers who, either as owners or tenants, hold small plots of land which." (iv) "In the economic sense one should understand by "middle peasants" those small farms who, (1) either as owners or tenants hold plots of land



that are also small." (v) "The big peasants (Grossbauern) are capitalist entrepreneurs in agriculture, who as a rule employ several hired laborers. (vi) "The big landowners, who, in capitalist countries, directly or through their tenant farmers, systematically exploit wage-labor and the neighboring small."

Mao Tse-Tung (1930) has pointed out the following rural classes: (1) "The landlord: a landlord is a person who owns land, does not engage in labor himself or does so only to a very small extent and lives by exploiting the peasants. The collection of land rent is his main form of exploitation" (2) "The rich peasant: the rich peasant as a rule owns land. But some rich peasants own only part of their land and rent the remainder. His main form of exploitation is the hiring of labor." (a) "The middle peasant: many middle peasants own land. Some own part of their land and rent the rest. (4)" The poor peasant: among the poor peasants some own part of their land. Others own no land at all but only a few odd farm implements." (5) "The worker: The worker (including the farm laborer) as a rule own no land or farm implements, though some do own a very small amount of land and very few farm implements."

One of the earliest studies, carried out in 1954-55 by A.M. Khusro (Patnaik, 1976) on the effects of jagirdari abolition in Hyderabad, showed that roughly 42 per cent of all 'Protected

tenants' created in 1951 (tenants with six years or more of recorded occupation of land) were thrown out in Jagir areas under the heads of legal and illegal evictions, and voluntary surrender by 1954-55. Only one-eighth had exercised the right to purchase land while under half of the tenants remained in occupations while there was not much difference in the size of the tenanted plots of those who remained compared to those who were thrown out (except in Marathwada region) the author tells us that the former were on average the bigger operators of land while the latter operated small holdings (Patnaik, 1976: A95). A sample survey of tenanted plots carried out by G. Parthasarathy and B. Prasad Rao in 1965 showed that in the Diwani areas protected tenants of 1955 continued in possession on only 55 percent of the plots with 65.5 percent of the area, while evictions and surrenders accounted for 25 percent of plots with 20.8 percent of the area, the remaining having been purchased (Patnaik, 1976: A95).

The intensive study by K.R. Nanekar of lands reforms in Vidharbha, in the Nagpur district of Vidharbha, 96 percent of all sample tenancies studied ceased during the reference period 1951 to 1961, owing to surrenders and evictions. In 65 percent of all cases, the tenant had no land left at all after tenancy ceased, and in another 20.9 percent of cases, they had land-owned or rented from others -below 5 acres (Patnaik, 1976: A95).

The study by B.Singh and S.Misra of lands reforms in Uttar Pradesh , showed that over half the sample households had no bhumidari (ownership) right over any part of their holding after reform, though provision had been made for them to buy ownership (Patnaik, 1976: 96). In Rajasthan, similarly, the study by Dool Singh showed that the majority of the tenants presumably of poor peasant and middle peasant status could not acquire the superior land holding right (Khatedari) owing to ignorance, lack of cash, and land lord pressure (Patnaik, 1976: A96). These diverse evaluation studies, to sum up, are consistent with the conclusion that the benefits to tenancy reform went mainly if not exclusively to the tenants who were already on rich peasant status before reform, and who could improve their position further by purchase of ownership right to tenanted land.

## Chapter 3

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 3.1 General Background of the District

The tract comprising the present district was remote and much of it was covered with forest. But gradually the area became inhabited. For want of recorded and authentic history it cannot, with any degree of certainty, be said how the district came to acquire its present name, yet the tradition has it that the district came to be known by its present name on account of the original habitation (*Rasti*) having been selected by the Kalhan Raja as a seat of his *raj*, an event which probably occurred in the sixteenth century. With the passage of time, the place prospered and in 1801 it became the *tahsil* headquarters and was chosen as the district headquarters of the newly established district in 1865. Since then it has steadily grown both in population and in general importance (Pande, 1988: 1).

In ancient times the area of the present district was included in the holy land of Buddha , and for some years it was believed to contain site of Kapilavastu, near which Buddha was born . This period during which the tract flourished was succeeded by an era of complete darkness, when the ancient town disappeared and the former cultivation gave place to jungle.

The medieval history of Basti is indeed barren and practically not a single reference to the tract is to be found in the annals of early Muslims historians. In the time of Akbar the district was included in the *subah* of Avadh , but was divided between two *sarkars*. The *mahal* or *pargana* of Ambodha (the modern Amroha) belonged to the *sarkar* of Avadh , while the rest formed part of Gorakhpur district. Till 1801 it remained in the Gorakhpur district ; when it was ceded by the Nawab Wazir of Avadh to the East India Company. The place attained its present position in 1865, when it was chosen as the headquarters of the newly established district (Pande, 1988: 1-2).

In 1955, a new *tahsil* of Navgarh was carved out with its headquarters at Navgarh. According to 1961 census, two villages of the district were transferred to Tanda *tahsil* of Faizabad district (Pande, 1988: 3).

The fiscal history of the district may be said properly to begin with the cession of Gorakhpur in 1801 (Nevill, 1926: 114). In ancient times the country around about Basti was known as Kosala. The first three Vedas do not mention either Kosala or the name of its capital. The Satpatha Brahamana speaks of Kosala as one of the countries of the Vedic Aryans (Majumdar, 1965: 258), and the grammarian Panini mentions it in one of his Sutras (Pande, 1988: 18).

In ancient times the *Panchayats* which used to be a body of village elders, exercised administrative and judicial powers on the community. With the advent of Muslim rule these self-governing units lost their importance but they existed till such time as they did not come into conflict with the established system of law and order in villages. These *Panchayats* lost their residual importance too during the British rule. But they continued to survive and to a certain measure control the social life of the village. The U.P. Panchayat Raj Act 1947, which was passed after Independence reorganized the ancient system on the modern pattern of elected *gaon* (village) panchayat and delegated to them adequate powers for the administration of village community. As a necessary corollary the national extension blocks, (now Development Blocks), which were envisaged for community development, started coming into being gradually from 1952 with the Block Development Committees as advisory

bodies, to help and advise for speedy implementation of the Five-Year Plan schemes. The set-up was again changed with the enactment of the U.P. Kshettra Samiti and Zilla Parishad Adhiniyam 1961. Under this act, Kshettra Samitis became statutory bodies with wide executive and financial powers. The structure which thus emerged was a three tier organization viz *gaon* panchayat at the base, the Kshettra Samities (Block Committees) in the middle and the Zila Parishad at the apex (Pande, 1988: 190-91).

The district lies between the parallels of 26.25' and 27.30' North latitude and 82.14' and 83.18' East longitude. According to the Central Statistical Organization the district covered an area of 7,309 sq. km. in 1971. It occupies 7th place in the State in terms of size. Owing to the changing course of the Ghaghara river, the area of the district is subjected to frequent alterations.

In table 3.1, decadal variation in population since 1901 to 1981 of the Basti district is shown. It is seen that in 1911 average annual growth rate of the population was -0.09. In 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981 the average annual growth rate of the population was 0.51, 0.77, 0.51, 0.89, 0.96, 1.29 and 1.83 respectively. Thus it is seen that the population of the Basti district goes up from 1921 onwards.

**Table 3.1:** Population of Basti District (1901-1981)

Year	Population	Annual Growth Rate
1901	1845104	-
1911	1829381	- 0.09
1921	1924134	0.51
1931	2076843	0.77
1941	2184399	0.51
1951	2386246	0.89
1961	2625755	0.96
1971	2984090	1.29
1981	3578069	1.83

(Sources: District Census Handbook, 1971)

The patterns of average annual growth rate of population of Basti district is evident from table 3.1.

According to the census of 1981, the district had the population of 3,578,069 persons, of which 1,855,946 were males and 1,722,123 females. Of these 3,406,164 persons, resided in rural areas and 171,905 in urban areas. Among rural populations the number of males and females were 1,763,032 and 1,643,132 respectively. And among urban areas the number of males and females were 92,914 and 78,991 respectively. Literacy rate of



the Basti district was 20.24%. Whereas the literacy of U.P. was 27.16%. The male literacy of the Basti district was 31.17%. Whereas the male literacy of the U.P. was 38.76%. Literacy among women in the Basti district was 7.94% whereas in U.P. it was 14.04%. The area of the Basti was 7230.2 (sq. kms.), whereas of the Uttar Pradesh it was 294411.00 (sq. kms.). The density of the population on (per sq.kms.) of the district Basti was 495, whereas of the U.P. it was 377. Sex ratio (number of females per 1000 males) of the Basti district was 928, whereas of the U.P. it was 885.

Thus it is seen that lands have to bear the burden of the more people in Basti district than U.P. One positive thing which we find in the Basti district is that there is more women than U.P. In literacy it is seen that people of the Basti district are lagging behind U.P.

In 1951, Acharya Vinoba Bhave initiated the Bhoodan movement in Uttar Pradesh with the object of obtaining land for the landless. Therefore, the State Government passed Bhoodan Yajna Act, 1952. In response, the people donated 1,109 acres (448.8 ha) of land in this district, of which an area of 892 acres (360.9 ha) has been distributed among the landless persons (Pande, 1988: 166).

Of the total population of the district, 79.67% are Hindus. The pattern of society among the Hindus of the district, as elsewhere, is based on the traditional four-fold caste system, the four principal castes being the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Viash and the Shudra, each being divided into a number of sub castes *jati* (Pande, 1988: 48-50). In 1971 the number of persons belonging to the schedule-caste was 6,07,839 which formed nearly 20.37% of the district population. They are found in every *tahsil* of the district and comprise the general laboring population (Pande, 1988: 49).

According to the 1971 census, 6,05,639 persons (3,11,639 males and 2,94,000 females) or about 20.30% were found professing the Islamic faith. They are found in fair number in all *tahsils*. The majority of the muslims belong to the Sunni sect, the important group among them being the Sheikhs, Pathans, and the Julahas. The Sheikhs outnumber the others. Some of the important castes among the Muslims are Nais, Darzis, Telis, Churihars, Kunjras, Bhats, Qassabs, Dafalis, Mochis or Cobblers and Goriya - a fishing and cultivating caste. The Christians numbered 168 including 90 females and 78 males in 1971. The Sikhs numbered 722 including 360 females. Most of them are found in urban areas and are engaged in various types of trade and commerce. In 1971, there were 41 Jains in the district out of

whom 20 were females. In 1971, the number of Buddhists in the district was 47 including 25 females (Pande, 1988: 50).

Acting upon the recommendations of the U.P. *Zamindari* Abolition Committee, the U.P. *Zamindari* Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, (U.P. Act, 1 of 1951), was passed and enforced in the district with effect from July 1, 1952, doing away with the system of intermediaries (with the exception of urban area and Government estates) in the district (Pande, 1988: 164). This act brought about many significant changes in the social and economic life of the people. The rural elite, which mainly consisted of the *Zamindars*, who had been exploiting actual tillers of the land for several centuries, have now been replaced by a community of progressive farmers owing land and cultivating it with full vigor, adopting modern techniques of agriculture. The rights of *Zamindars* were abolished while not only proper rights in land were given to the actual tiller but the same were placed on a sound footing. General prosperity of the people has also improved manifesting itself in better standard of living, food, dress and other habits.

In ancient times there existed no intermediaries between the king and the cultivator. During the Muslim period the Sultan of Delhi introduced the system of assignment from which sprang an oppressive class of intermediaries. Sher Shah paid attention

towards the plight of the cultivators and improved their lot by doing away with the system of assignment of land. Akbar introduced uniform revenue laws and cultivation in general prospered. Akbar's successors did not appear to have interfered with the existing systems of revenue and more or less it remained in force till the disintegration of the Mughal empire. Under the rule of Nawab Wazirs of Avodh the district entered another critical phase, the chief feature being that the cultivators had to make the payment of revenue sometime to the Nawab and his officials and sometime to local *Zamindars*. The British abolished the system and introduced certain reform. In 1795, district came under Permanent Settlement. From 1802-3 Revenue Settlements began to be conducted in the district regularly and various laws were passed (Pande, 1988: 163-64).

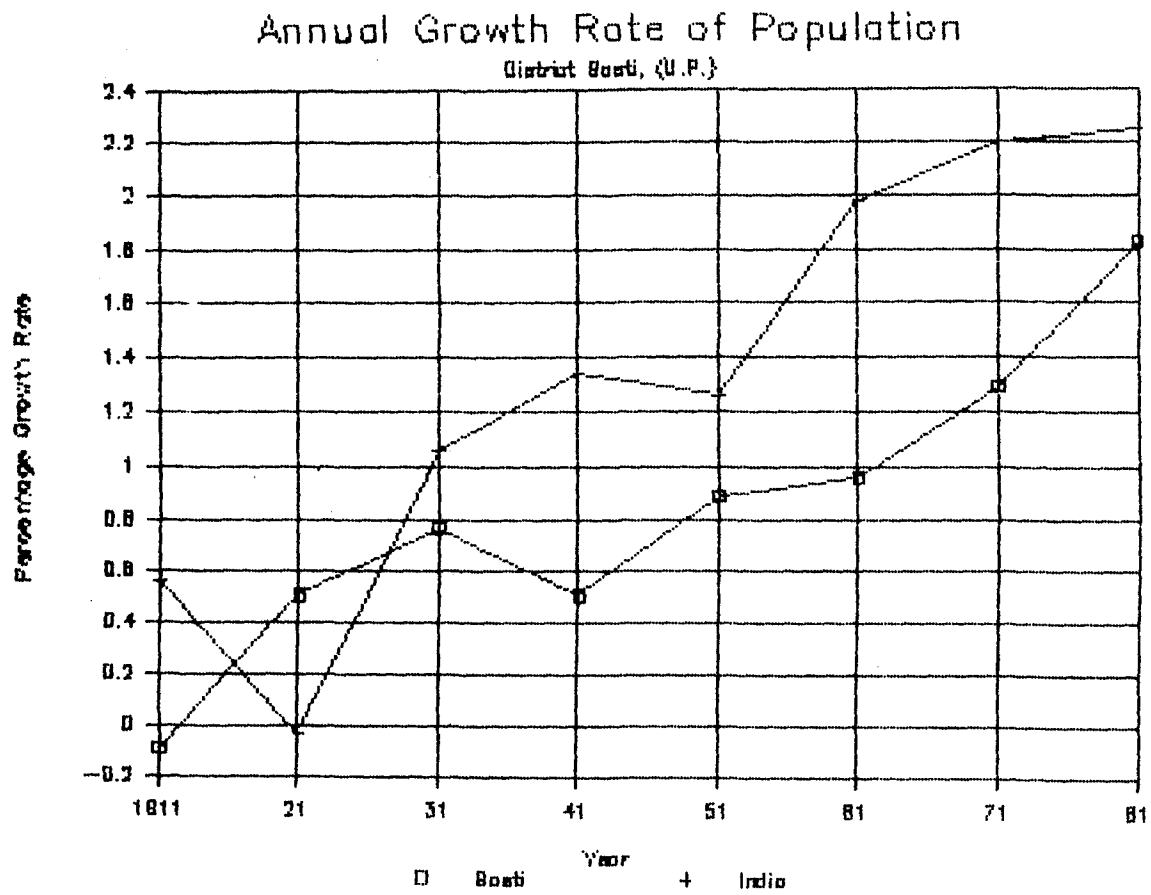


Figure 3.1

## **Chapter 4**

### **VILLAGE STUDY**

#### **4.1 Prelude**

The present chapter is based on village study in Kussori. The location of the village in Basti district has been shown in Map 1.1 in chapter 1. The field work was carried on during August-September, 1992. This chapter has been divided into two sections. The first section deals with the Case Studies. The second section deals with the Tables. There are nine Case Studies. These Case Studies help us in understanding the qualitative nature of caste and class relations in Kussori. The tables provide us quantitative aspects of caste and class identity in Kusarui.

#### **4.2 Case Studies**

#### **4.3 SAYEED AHMAD KHAN**

Sayeed Ahmad Khan, 70 years of age at the time of study, is medium, stately appearing person; mentally alert, frank in

manner, pleasing personality; has considerable poise, speaks with some insight into his situation. He displays traits generally found among educated sections of society. He speaks in local and Urdu languages fluently. He is well verse in English language as well.

He was born in a land lord family. His father was an officer at the time of the English. He was given education at University level. He was graduated from Lucknow University. He was married at 21 years. There are six members in the family at present. As such there is no working person in the family on crops. His father was married in Chaudhary family who was *Zamindar*. Though they were not Khan yet they have equal status.

Since he was landlord so there was no question for him to join in the service of the Government because he was the only son in the family. Though he was offered for the Tahsildarship which recruitments is done now a days through the Public Service Commission.

After independence *Zamindari* was abolished. His major portions of lands were ceased. At present he has 20.5 acres of land. He is to stand in the queue of the middle people.

Now a days he has to face problems in maintaining his status in the society. He has to spend more money for the

education of the children. By the grace of Allah his children is getting good education.

Since he never worked in the field, now a days he has to look after laborer. Those days his *sirvar* used to be in the field with worker. Now a days he has to be with them.

As he believes in purity of blood for that his foremost concern was to marry in his own caste group with equal status. Since he was landlord, his occupation at present is farming.

In thew changing circumstances, he is very alert about his status. He takes part in the village function but he maintains social distance. Since now a days there is a problem of labor. So his major portion of land is given on lease. He receives rent in the form of grain. His remaining land is cultivated by the help of labors with tractor. At present there is one servant in the family who helps in the working of the house. Since he has good garden of mangoes and guavas. It is this, from which his financial assistance is met for the study of the children and also other works for the house.

#### **4.4 NABIAS (AVADHU)**

Nabias (Avadhu), is a tall, stately appearing person. He was 40 years of age at the time of study. By caste he is Siddiqui. He is frank in manner. He is somewhat reserve at the time of



interaction with the people. He displays traits of individualistic personality. He speaks in local language fluently. He was born in this village. His parents were poor. They do not have sufficient amount of money for his study. He was educated in the village school, that is of primary level. At present there are two men, one woman and five children in the family. There are three working persons in the household. Children are dependent on family.

He was married in his own caste in the neighboring village. His wife is also not educated. He has to spend his time in the work of the house. His children some times help him. They are also not getting any formal type of education.

He can eat with the person of any caste who has *Iman* in Islam. He does not bother about taking food or water from the Hindu at the time of invitation. However, there is neither any restrictions as such, nor any sanctions imposed by the caste on interaction pattern.

In his village hierarchy is maintained according to the caste of the people. Khans who were zamindar once, is regarded on the top of the hierarchy.

He has limited number of field for cultivation. His family members help him. He has taken fields on lease but he has not

given land on lease. At present there is one acre of land in the family for cultivation. Rent is given in the form of grain of the fields which has been taken on lease by the family.

He is of medium class, he has to interact with the people of the other classes. In the village Zamindar family is given special treatment at the time of the marriage or other functions. If they want to do some work for them he does not let them to work for them. He feels pleasure for their presence in the functions.

His woman folk does not work for the other people on wages. His children also do not work on wages for other people.

In his family there is no inter-caste marriage by now as he knows. He is married in his own caste, so that purity of blood and bones could be maintained. There might be other reason too for it such as that they belong to the same status group. Due to this there is no problem for the both sides in the adjustment. If there is difference in the status group, there will be problem in the adjustment.

#### **4.5 MUNSHI RAZA**

Munshi Raza, Mali by caste. His age was 60 years at the time of study. There is twelve members in the family at present.

Six persons are workable for the family. He has 2.5 acre of land in the family. He is well verse in the village affairs. He has also experience of city life. He speaks in the local language affected by Bombay style. He displays traits of village and city life as well.

He was born in that village. His family profession was garlanding and cultivation. In the past his family serve the *Zamindar* family as *jajman*. While this institution was changed he has to depend on cultivation.

Since he belongs to low class status, he does not have sufficient land for cultivation. So he has to left the village in the search of a job. He went to Bombay. There he was astonished by seeing the culture of city. He found a lot of contradiction between the culture of village and city life. Any way he himself settle there. He established a tea-stall there. With that income he was able to purchase some fields in the village and could make a new house for the family.

Now a days his son is living in the village. He looks after the field. He also married in the same caste.

He married in his own caste so that purity of blood could be maintained. He does not hire his land to others nor he hires others land. There is no restriction of taking food with others.

He can take food with any one who has *Iman* in Islam. Now a days he has surplus type of economy so that he is able to purchase some lands in the village. His field is cultivated by the help of tractors. He hires some times labor for the field. He also takes part with them in the field. By now he does not have any adult or child servant in the house. Although female members do join hands for agricultural activities in the field. But they do not work for others. He respects his elders in the village. Anyway the family of Zamindar is given special regards by him. Since they enjoyed a good status in the neighboring villages and district level. They are asked by the villagers to solve the problems at the time of dispute in the village as well as in the neighboring villages.

#### **4.6 NIZAMUDDIN**

Nizamuddin, Kasai by caste. His age is 60 years. There is seven members in his family. There is only two working persons in the family. Number of dependents are five in the family. He is a tall stately appearing person. His education is at primary level. He speaks in local language fluently. He was born in this village. His Khandan was established by the Zamindar family. He was given patron by them. He carries on his traditional occupation. His woman folk work in the house. They also help in his profession. Children also take part in it. He practices

endogamy due to desire of maintaining purity of blood. In his family there is no inter-caste marriage. In the village he is ranked according to his caste. Khans are *Zamindar* ranked at the top in the village. He can take food among the Muslim. He does not have land to give on lease nor he takes land on lease.

He was married in his own caste. His two sons are married. Now they are constituting separate family. At present his wife, he and his unmarried children are living together. Since he belongs to a medium class status. He does not hire labor for work. He does his work by his own hand. He does not work for others in their field on wages. His economy is of subsistence type. He does not have much money to buy land for the family. There is no question for him to have adult servants or child servants in the family.

#### 4.7 MOHAMMAD ISLAM

Mohammad Islam is Sheikh by caste. His age is 50 years. There are twenty members in the family. Number of working persons in his family are seven. Thirteen are dependant in the family. He has 3.5 acres of land. He is of a medium height. Other than the local dialect, he speaks in broken Urdu. He is educated up to tenth class. At present he is a *pardhan* of the village. He was born in this village. He had his primary education at the

village Maqtab. Later on he was enrolled in a college which is near the village. He matriculated from that college.

He was married in his own caste. There is no inter caste marriage in the family. He has to be busy in the political affairs of the village. His sons are getting education in an intermediate college.

His woman folk at present do not work in the field. They work in the house. He practices endogamy to maintain purity of blood. He is ranked according to his caste in the village. The family of Zamindar is on the top in the hierarchy. He can take food from persons having faith in Islam. His fields are cultivated with the help of a tractor. He hires labor for farming during peak season. He does not give his land on lease nor he takes land on lease. At present he does not have any adult servants or child servants in the family.

Recently, he purchased a tractor for the purpose of cultivation. He keeps a driver for the tractor. He rents out his tractor for the purpose of cultivation to others. He has to engage in cultivating and agricultural activities in all the seasons.

#### 4.8 MOHAMMAD SHAMI

Md. Shami, is a tall person. He is a man of balance nature. He is well experienced in the affairs of the village. He speaks in the local language of the village. He also used some Urdu words in his speech.

His age is 60 years. In family there are nine members at present. There are six persons in the family who work. Number of dependants are three. He has 1.5 acre land in the family. He has taken land on share cropping. He was born in this village. His family is related by blood with the landlord family of the village. However, because of his poverty, he is not in close contact with the landlord family. Now a days he has some fields for the farming. He does not have other source of income. He has to do hard work in the field for his subsistence.

He was married in the neighboring village. He has only two sons. They are also married in the same status group. All the household members have to work in the field. He hires labor occasionally when its need is unavoidable. He does not work in others' field for money. He has to take land on lease from the landlord. In return, he has to give rent in the form of grain.

Zamindar is ranked at the top in the hierarchy. They are requested for resolving the village disputes. He can have food with any muslims having faith in Islam.

The total number of the income of the family is not very satisfactory. He has subsistence economy. Since he belongs from middle class people there is no question for him to hire servants in the working of the household. Occasionally, he hires servants which he could not do by his own hands. Or which requires some technical specialization.

#### **4.9 MOHAMMAD ISMAIL**

Md. Ismail, an old man in the village. He belongs to Darji by caste. He is an experienced man. He is well aware about the changing situation of the village. He displays traits generally found among the old villagers. He speaks local language. At the time of study, his age was 60 years. At present there are twentyone members in the family. He has only one acre of land in the family. There are six persons in the family who work for the family.

He was born, matured and became old in this village. He has seen many things passing under his own eyes. He has seen the period of emergency. He was married in his own caste. His family occupation is tailoring. In the past he was given in grain for



the work which he render for the village people. Now a days this has changed. People at this time prefer to give in the form of rupee for the clothes which are tailored.

Since he served whole village, he has to dine with them all. There was relation of Jazmani. He was married in his own caste. There is no inter caste marriage in his family.

He has very limited number of land. His economy is based on tailoring. He does not hire land from outside or give land to other for cultivation. He does work by his own hands. His family member do not work in the field for wages.

Since he belongs to low class status. There is no question for him to hire servants for the household. There is no child servant as well. His life is going on well by serving the villagers. They take part at the time of need. In the past he has better satisfaction than at present. Now a days people have become materialized. Individualism has taken its roots in the village ambient.

#### **4.10 SULAIMAN**

Sulaiman, is Ansari by caste. He is a tall man. He is a man of reserving personality. He displays traits of village and city culture. He speaks local language affected by Urdu. At the time of study his age was 50 years. There are eleven members in the

family. Six are working persons for the family. He has three acres of land in the family.

He was born in this village. He was given primary education from the village school. He takes part in the household work at his childhood. His father was working in Calcutta at that time. So he was given opportunity by father to join his service in that factory. He joined his father's post in the factory.

He was married in the same caste. There is no inter-caste marriage in his family. His sons are married in the same caste too. He belongs to middle class status group. He has few fields for cultivation. He has no extra land to give on lease. He has taken land on lease. Any way due to his income from the factory. He has purchased some fields in the village. He has also made a new house for the family.

There is no restriction in offering food. He can take food with one who has Iman. In his village people are graded according to their caste. Khan who is Zamindar ranked at the top in the village. They are respected by the people of the village as well as by the neighboring villages.

At times, he hires labor for cultivation. His routined works for cultivation are normally done by the family members. He does not have any adult or child servant. His family members do not

work for wages for others. For few agricultural activities, he hires labor.

#### 4.11 SHADULLAH

Shadullah is 55 years old at the time of study. He is a Gaddi by caste. He is very cunning and shrewd. He has a good experience of village and city life. He speaks in local as well as in Bombay styles. At present, there are two persons in the family. They are husband and wife. Both of them work.

He was born in this village. He was married in the same caste. He could not get education because of financial constraint. He had to take part in the work of the household at an early age. He has two daughters. There is no son in the family. Both daughters are married in the same caste. They have married in their own caste for the sake of retaining purity of blood. There is no any instances of out caste marriages in his family. They are ranked according to their caste hierarchy in the village. *Zamindar* family is on the top. They can take food from any one who has *iman* in Islam.

His wife takes part in the household works as well as in the field. At the time of harvesting and cultivation he lives in the village. After that he goes to Bombay in search of better prospects. According to him, because of insufficient land (one

acre), he is forced to go to Bombay for better living. He does not lease out his land. Neither he leases in. He does not have any adult or child servant.

#### 4.12 Tables

In Table 4.1 age group with their respective respondent is shown. It is seen that age which varies from 0 to 15 years there is no respondent in this variation. Age which varies from 15.1 to 35 years there are 23 respondents in this category. From 35.1 to 60 years there are 72 respondents in this category. Age which varies from 60.1 and above we find that there are 15 respondents in this category. It is seen that there are lesser number of the respondents from younger generation. The representation of the older generation which varies from 60.1 and above is least represented. The highest representation is from the age group of 35.1 to 60 years. There is least representation from the older side, shows that their condition is not satisfactory what may be the reason. They have lesser opportunity to utilize the modern means of livelihood. That is why their condition could not improve. That is why they have to give up their life at early stage.

In Table 4.2 working persons in Kussori village is shown. We find that there are onehundred andfifteen males in the Ashraf

category as working persons. The number of non-Ashraf in this category is hundred and three as working persons. Working women in the Ashraf category are ninety eight. Whereas working women in the non-Ashraf are ninety two. Childrens' position are somewhat alarming in the non-Ashraf. We find that there are thirty seven children in non-Ashraf categories (as working child). The position of children in Ashraf categories is better one than non-Ashraf. There are six children (as working child) in the Ashraf categories. The total of the working men in Ashraf and non-Ashraf is 218. The total of women in both categories are hundred ninety as working women. The total of children (as working child) in both Ashraf and non-Ashraf is fourty three. The total of working persons in Ashraf for men, women and children is twohundred nineteen. The position of non-Ashraf in this regard is twohundred thirty two. The total working population of the Kussori village is fourhundred fifty one persons.

Thus it is seen that as a whole the number of working persons in non-Ashraf categories is higher than the Ashraf. One alarming thing which is found that the position of children in the non-Ashraf is alarming one. It is due to their economic condition. It is seen in the village that children of non-Ashraf had to leave their education and they have to take part in the profession of their parents. It is due to this that they are not able to get up to a standard type of education. It is seen in

the village that there is no student from non-Ashraf who could be able to get education up to matriculation, that to speak of higher education. The dropout in the non-Ashraf is hundred percent by 9th class. In the Ashraf there is only *Zamindar's* family who could be able to manage for higher education. Their children are getting education in Universities. We have only one student out side the Zamindars family in Ashraf category getting education in University. Thus it is seen that there is a lack of opportunity in getting education. There is a differentiation between Ashraf and non-Ashraf in getting education. We find that there is a differentiation in getting education among Ashraf as well. Even there is differentiation among *Zamindar's* family in the opportunity of education. Thus class status is seen here that one whose position is stronger one, he is being more stronger in other sphere is very much there. This is not the case in Kussori village alone. This is the general phenomena of district Basti even in Uttar Pradesh. It will not be wrong to say of the country as a whole. Thus whose caste position is higher he is being higher in class position is very much vulnerable. Exceptions can not be ruled out.

In Table 4.3 dependents in Kussori village is shown. It is seen that there are eighteen men in Ashraf who are dependent. There are only four men in non-Ashraf category as dependent. The total of dependent men in both Ashraf and non-Ashraf is

twenty two. The women who are dependent in the Ashraf category that are twenty two. There are twelve women in non-Ashraf as dependent. The total number of dependent women in both Arshraf and non-Ashraf is thirty four. There are two hundred forty eight children who are dependent in the Ashraf. In the non-Ashraf there are two hundred eighteen children who are dependent. The total of dependent children in both Ashraf and non-Ashraf is four hundred sixty six. The total of Ashraf who are dependent (men, women and children) is two hundred eighty eight. Dependent position in the non-Ashraf (men, women and children) is two hundred thirty four. The total dependent of Ashraf and non-Ashraf (men, women and children) is five hundred twenty two. The population of the village (working persons: 451 and dependent: 522) is nine hundred seventy three.

Thus it is seen that the number of dependents is higher in Ashraf than the comparison of non-Ashraf. The caste and class relation could be seen here. It is once again clear that one whose caste status is higher he is being higher in class status is very much vulnerable. It is Ashraf who comprise higher in caste terms their being higher in class terms is found. The position of dependents in Ashraf is higher what may be reason behind this. Exceptions may be there. In non-Ashraf where we find less dependents in spite of their being lesser population than Ashraf (non-Ashraf: 466; Ashraf: 507). The reason is that the

position of non-Ashraf is lower than the Ashraf in class terms or caste. One whose position is lower he is being dependent on household is lesser one. He has to work for hand to mouth. He can not escape from it. For this one has to give-up his education. One has to work at the stage of very old too, if he wants to survive. There is no other means for him. His position is not sound in economic terms. Thus it is seen that one whose position is higher in class status or caste status he is being more dependent.

The Ashraf's children are dependent on household. Since they depend on household, they do not have to work. Thus they get opportunity for education and they become educated. They join in the government jobs or politics or in some other business. Since now a days politics has become remunerative, due to this the educated sections of the Ashraf join this. And once again add in the economy of the household. For joining politics there is a need of money and education which Ashraf has, thus they benefited by their being better educated and financially sound. However, the role of money is at very early stage, later on there is no need of money from the households income. How is it possible for one to join politics which could be remunerative at the later stage for the household who has no money to feed their children. Thus there is a question of opportunity what may be its shape. It could in the form of



getting higher education. That is one is given what type of education whether it is of Public School or traditional one like *maqtab*<sup>3</sup> or Primary *Patshala*.<sup>4</sup> Or it could be related to political bosses. Things depend on what type of opportunity one is given in his life. Naturally it is Ashraf who has better background in all the respects to give their children better opportunity for ridding the ladder. Thus Ashraf whose position is better one than non-Ashraf in giving opportunity to their children they are being high in caste position once again pave the way for rising in the class status in the society. This is the situation all over the Uttar Pradesh even country as well. Exceptions might be there.

In Table 4.4, inter-caste marriages in Kussori village is shown. It is seen that out of fifty one Ashrafs there are forty eight respondents where we do not find any inter caste marriage at present generation, there are only three respondents where we find inter-caste marriage. In non-Ashraf there are fifty seven respondents where we do not find any inter caste marriage at present generations of the respondents, there is only one respondent where we find inter caste marriage. There is one respondent that we find that this variable of -----

3. Where religious education is imparted to the Muslim children.
4. Government Primary School

present generation of inter caste marriage is not applicable. That is he is not married by now.

There are 40 respondents among Ashrafs where we find that there is no inter-caste marriage in the son's generations of the respondent. There are only two Ashraf respondents where we find that there are inter-caste marriages in the son's generation of the respondents. There are nine respondents who do not have sons. In non-Ashraf there are thirty three respondents where we do not find inter-caste marriage in the son's generations of the respondents. There is only one respondent where we find inter-caste marriage. There are twenty five respondents who do not have sons.

There are four Ashraf respondents where we find no inter-caste marriage in the grand son's generations. There is no inter-caste marriage among the Ashrafs in grandson's generation. There are forty seven respondents who don't have grand sons. Among the non-Ashraf there are two respondents where we find that there is no inter-caste marriage. There is no case of inter-caste marriage among the non-Ashraf. There are fifty seven respondents who don't have grand sons.

There are forty six Ashrafs where we find no inter-caste marriage in the father's generations of the respondents. There are five Ashrafs where we find inter-caste marriage. Among

non-Ashraf there are fifty nine respondents where we find that there is no inter-caste marriage. In grand father's generation of the respondents among Ashrafs, there are fifty respondents where we find that there is no inter-caste marriage. There is only one respondent where inter-caste marriage is found. Among non-Ashraf there are fifty nine respondents who are found that there is no inter-caste marriage in the grand father's generation.

In Table 4.5 occupational specialization of the Kussori village is shown. We find that there are thirty five Ashraf households who practice hereditary occupation in the village. The number of non-Ashraf households who practice hereditary occupation is forty six. Occupation which is non-hereditary that is practiced by both Ashraf and non-Ashraf represented by single household each. There are fifteen Ashrafs and twelve non-Ashraf households who practice both hereditary and non-hereditary occupation. Thus it is seen that there are eight one households who practice hereditary occupation, two households non-hereditary and twenty seven households who practice both occupations. Percentage of non-Ashraf is higher than Ashraf in the practice of hereditary occupation. In the non-hereditary occupation it is Ashraf whose percentage is higher than non-Ashraf. Once again in the practice of both hereditary and non-hereditary occupation it is Ashraf whose percentage is higher

than non-Ashraf in its practice. Inferences which is drawn that is, non-Ashraf, in the sense of hereditary occupation who follow it to a greater extent due to of their being moribund economy. They have no other means to carry on other occupation. This reality could be seen by analyzing the position of Ashraf. It is seen that Ashraf practices both non-hereditary and hereditary occupation to a greater extent than its counter part non-Ashraf. It is merely due to their (Ashraf) better economic condition. Thus the real character of the caste and class is seen here. It is upper caste (Khan, Sheikh and Siddiqui) who constitute upper class. Anyway, exceptions may be there.

In Table 4.6 caste hierarchy of the Kussori village is shown. It is shown that how people ranked different castes. It is seen that there are forty nine Ashrafs who ranked caste according to the caste hierarchy. That is according to the high or low status of a particular caste. In non-Ashraf, we find that there are fifty nine persons who ranked caste according to the highness or lowness of the caste. There is no Ashraf or non-Ashraf who ranked caste according to the religious knowledge of the people. We find that there are only, two Ashrafs who ranked caste according to the economic status. There is no non-Ashraf in this category. Thus it is seen that there are hundred and eight respondents who ranked caste according to the status of caste that which caste is low and high one. Majority of the

respondents favor ranking according to the caste status. There are only two Ashrafs who favor it according to economic status. Thus it is seen that in Kussori village the notion of highness or lowness is found at the time of ranking of the caste. There are only two exceptions in this regard that is of Ashraf.

In Table 4.7 dining pattern of the Kussori village is shown. It is seen that there are forty four Ashrafs who could take food with any caste. For them there is no consideration of caste restriction in this regard. The number of non-Ashraf who could take food with any one is fifty three. We find that there are seven Ashrafs who take food in their own caste. The number of non-Ashraf in this regard is six. Thus there are ninety seven persons for whom there are no restriction of caste in dining pattern. There are only thirteen respondents who take food in their own caste. Thus it is seen that dining pattern in the Kussori village is not restricted one. Majority of the people could take food in any caste of their own religion. Ashrafs are more rigid than non-Ashrafs in the dining pattern as the data shows.

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5. In this it is Khan (*Zamindar*) who is represented as a whole (there are three households of Khans). Remaining one is represented by other Ashrafs who are economically and socially well off.

In Table 4.8 land ownership pattern in Kussori village is shown. There are two Ashrafs and twenty non-Ashrafs (households) who possess no land. The total of this is twenty two who possess no land. Land size which varies from 0.1 to 2.5 acres, there are thirty one Ashraf and thirty five non Ashraf households who possess land. The total of this one is sixty six households. Land size which varies from 2.6 to 5 acres, there are twelve Ashrafs and three non-Ashrafs (households) possessing land. The total of this one is fifteen households. From 5.1 to 7.5 acres of land there are only two Ashrafs (households) possessing land. There is no non-Ashraf households in this range. From 7.6 to 10 acres of land there is one Ashraf and one non-Ashraf household possessing land. Land which varies from 10.1 to above there is only Ashraf households in this range, number of households possessing land are three. There is no non-Ashraf in this range. Thus it is seen that it is non-Ashraf households who do not possess land in comparison of Ashraf households, their respective number is twenty and two. Once again class structure of the village comprising higher caste is shown. It is the Ashraf (higher caste) who comprise higher class in the village setting. It is the Ashraf who possess more land in

comparison of non-Ashraf. These differences may be clearly shown in the histogram based on Table 4.8 in Figure 4.1.

In Table 4.9 wet land ownerships in kusauri village is shown. It is seen that there are six Ashrafs and twenty nine non-Ashraf households who don't possess land. The total number of this is thirty five households. Land which varies from 0.1 to 2.5 acres, in this range it is seen that there are thirty Ashrafs and twenty nine non-Ashrafs (households) who possess land. The total of these households is fifty nine. From 2.6 to 5 acres in this range it is found that there are ten Ashrafs and no non-Ashraf (households) possessing land. The total is of course ten households. From 5.1 to 7.5 acres in this range it is seen that there is only one Ashraf (households) possessing land. Land which varies from 7.6 to 10 acres there are two Ashrafs and one non-Ashraf (households) possessing land. The total of which is three households. Land which varies from 10.1 and above it is found that there are only two Ashraf households possessing land. There is no non-Ashraf households in this range.

Thus it is seen that the bigger portion of the land is possessed by the Ashraf constituting fifty one households whereas the lesser portion of land is possessed by the non-Ashraf constituting fifty nine households. Thus once again

class structure of the village is shown. One who is higher in the caste hierarchy his class position is higher as well.

In Table 4.10 extent of dry land in Kussori village is shown. There are thirty five Ashrafs and forty two non-Ashraf households who don't have dry land. Dry land size which varies from 0.1 to 2.5 acres, it is found that there are fifteen Ashrafs and sixteen non-Ashrafs (households) possessing land in this variation. From 2.6 to 5 acres of land there is only one Ashraf and one non-Ashraf (households) who possess land in this variation. Land size which varies from 5.1 to 7.5, 7.6 to 10 and 10.1 and above we don't find any Ashraf or non-Ashraf (households) possessing land under this range. Thus it is seen that in Kussori village land which is dry that is being possessed by the villagers is in lesser amount that is in less number of acres. It is seen that even in this category of land (dry land) it is from non-Ashraf whose numbers are greater than Ashraf in not possessing of land. The percentage of dry land is more in Ashrafs than non-Ashrafs.

In Table 4.11 leasing-out pattern in Kussori village has been given. We find that there are forty two Ashrafs and fifty eight non-Ashrafs (households) who don't give their land on lease. The total of both Ashraf and non-Ashraf is hundred (households). Land variations which is found from 0.1 to 2.5



acres, in this variations we find that there are seven Ashrafs and no non-Ashraf (Households) who give land on lease. From 2.6 to 5 acres of land we don't find any Ashraf or non-Ashraf (Household) giving land on lease. Land which varies from 5.1 to 7.5 acres we find that there is only one Ashraf (households) where land is given on lease. There is no non-Ashraf in this category. From 7.6 to 10 acres of land there is no Ashraf (households) who gives land on lease. However, there is one non-Ashraf households who gives land on lease. From 10.1 acres and above there is only one Ashraf (households) who gives land on lease. There is no non-Ashraf in this range giving land on lease. Between Ashraf and non Ashraf households who don't give their land on leased it is non-Ashraf which comprise 58 households that don not give land on lease whereas the number of Ashraf is forty two. Ashraf households that give land on lease comprise nine households. Non-Ashraf households giving land on lease in only one household. This shows the class structure of the village. It is the upper caste that is Ashraf who constitute the upper class of the village structure.

In Table 4.12 leasing-in-pattern in Kussori is given. Here we find that there are forty five Ashrafs and fifty three non-Ashrafs (households) who do not take land on lease system. The number of both households constitute ninety eight. However, in this regard the number of Ashraf (households) is less than non-

Ashraf. The land size which varies from 0.1 to 2.5 acres, in this variation it is found that both Ashrafs and non-Ashrafs (household) are equal in taking land on lease pattern. In other variation of land which is from 2.6 to 5, 5.1 to 7.5, 7.6 to 10, 10.1 acres and above, we don't find that there is any household in both Ashrafs and non-Ashrafs taking land on lease. It is seen from above data that leasing in pattern in Kussori village is up to 2.5 acres. In other words people take land on lease below 2.5 acres.

In Table 4.13 total work days in the whole year has been given of the Kussori village. Work days has been given in months. It is found that there are seven Ashrafs and eighteen non-Ashrafs (households) who don't work. There are nine Ashrafs and twenty two non-Ashraf households who work three months. There are five Ashrafs and seven non-Ashrafs (households) who work six months in their farm. There are only two and one, Ashraf and non-Ashraf (households) respectively who work nine months. One who works twelve months the number of such household both for Ashrafs and non Ashrafs is twenty eight and eleven respectively. Thus it is seen that it is Ashraf households whose number is highest between the on-Ashraf and Ashraf that is twenty eight households who work twelve months. The highest number of non-Ashraf is twenty two (households) who works thre months. The highest total households of Ashrafs and

non-Ashrafs is thirty nine (households) who work twelve months. The least households of Ashrafs and non-Ashrafs are three households who work nine months. The least Ashraf households are two (households), work for nine months. The least number of non-Ashraf is one household who work nine months.

In Table 4.14 total labor days employed by the households is shown. It is seen that there are seven Ashrafs and twenty nine non-Ashrafs who employ no labor days. That is they have either no land or a very limited number of lands which could be managed by their own hands. There are thirty eight Ashrafs and twenty nine non-Ashrafs who employ labor on their crops to ninety days. There are four Ashrafs and one non-Ashraf household who employ labor days to hundred. There is one Ashraf household employ labor days to two hundred seventy . There is no non-Ashraf in this category. Once again there is only one Ashraf household who employed labor days to three hundred sixty. There is no non-Ashraf in this category. Thus it is seen that it is Ashraf who employ labor days in better proportion to their counterpart non-Ashraf. The class and caste relations are seen here. It is seen that castes which comprise Ashraf is high one that is why they are being high in class status is vulnerable. Thus one who is high in their caste ranking is high in class terms as well. Exceptions might be there.

In Table 4.15 caste ranking in the Kussori village is shown. There is no controversy about the ranking of Khan, Sheikh and Siddiqui. They were ranked unanimously first, second and third respectively by the respondents. We find differentiation in the opinion of ranking of the other castes. It is seen that there are sixty eight respondents who ranked Ansari as fourth, 25 as fifth, 3 as sixth, 2 as seventh, 1 as eighth, 7 as ninth, 2 as tenth, no ranking at eleventh, 2 as twelfth and again no ranking at thirteenth. Kashai was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents 22, 36, 12, 8, 1, 18, 8, 5, 0, 0, respectively. Dhunia was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th by the respondents 12, 17, 19, 23, 4, 17, 9, 9, 0, 0, respectively. Nai was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, by the respondents 2, 15, 11, 36, 3, 13, 17, 12, 1 and 0 respectively by the respondents. Kankali was ranked as 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents 8, 24, 15, 8, 22, 19, 14, 0, 0, respectively. Gaddi was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents 1, 3, 25, 14, 2, 17, 30, 18, 0, 0, respectively. Mali was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents 3, 6, 12, 11, 5, 14, 21, 37, 1, 0, respectively. Bhanghi was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th by the respondents 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 1, 1, 106 respectively. Nat was ranked as 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents

30,0,2,3,75,0, respectively. Darji was ranked as 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th by the respondents 1, 0, 4, 1, 55, 2, 2, 11, 30, 4, respectively.

Thus it is seen that Khan, Sheikh and Siddiqui who are ranked at the top of the caste hierarchy they are also ranked at the top of the class hierarchy. Exceptions can not be ruled out.

In Table 4.16 educational patterns of the Kussori village is shown. It is seen that from Ashraf side there are eleven students getting education in nursery. There is no student getting education in the Primary *Patshala* from Ashraf household. Where as from non-Ashraf it is seen that there are eight students getting education in the *Primary Patshala*. There is only one student getting education in *Maqtab* from Ashraf. The position of non-Ashraf is alarming one. It is seen that there are fifty students getting education in *Maqtab*. In middle there are two Ashrafs and one non-Ashraf students getting education. Students getting education in matric, we find that there are eight students from Ashraf and no from non-Ashraf. Students who are given education in 10+2, Graduation, Post-graduation and Research, their respective numbers are two, three, one and two

from Ashraf. Where as there is no non-Ashraf getting education in these categories.

Thus it is seen that it is Ashraf \* who has better position in education. It is from Ashraf side that we find that due to their good education they have better chance to rise in the society. Thus once again their supremacy is maintained in the outer world to their counterpart non-Ashraf. Thus by having good education they are able to make their presence felt in the other sphere of life. Thus it is seen that caste which is higher at the rung of caste hierarchy, their hierarchy is maintained at the class situation as well.

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6. One alarming thing which is seen among the Ashraf that it is *Zamindar's* family which has concentrated education baring 1 from graduation, 2 from 10+2 and 3 from matric. Even engineering graduate stands in the queue of *Zamindar*.

**Table 4.1: Age Distribution in Kussori**

Age Group	Respondents
0 - 15	0
15.1 - 35	23
35.1 - 60	72
60.1 & above	15

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.2: Working Persons in Kussori**

	M	W	C	T
Ashraf	115	98	6	219
Non-Ashraf	103	92	37	232
Total	218	190	43	451

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 3.3:** Dependents in Kussori

	M	W	C	T
Ashraf	18	22	248	288
Non-Ashraf	4	12	218	234
Total	22	34	466	522

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)



**Table 4.4 : Inter-Caste Marriages**

Ashraf				
	No	Yes	N.A.*	Total
Present Generation	48	3	0	51
Son's Generation	40	2	9	51
Grand Son's Generation	4	0	47	51
Father's Generation	46	5	0	51
Grand Father's Generation	50	1	0	51
Non-Ashraf				
Present Generation	57	1	1	59
Son's Generation	33	1	25	59
Grand Son's Generation	2	0	57	59
Father's Generation	59	0	0	59
Grand Father's Generation	59	0	0	59

\*N.A = Not Applicable

(Sources : Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.5: Occupational Specialization**

	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
Hereditary	35	46	81
Non-Hereditary	1	1	2
Both	15	12	27
Total	51	59	110

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.6: Caste Hierarchy**

	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
1. According to one's caste	49	59	108
2. Religious knowledge	0	0	0
3. Economic Status	2	0	2
Total	51	59	110

(Sources : Village Study, 1992).

**Table 4.7:** Dining Pattern

	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
Any Caste	44	53	97
Own Caste	7	6	13
Total	51	59	110

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.8:** Land Ownership Pattern in Kussori

Land Size	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
0	2	20	22
0.1 - 2.5	31	35	66
2.6 - 5.0	12	3	15
5.1 - 7.5	2	0	2
7.6 - 10.0	1	1	2
10.1 & above	3	0	3
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

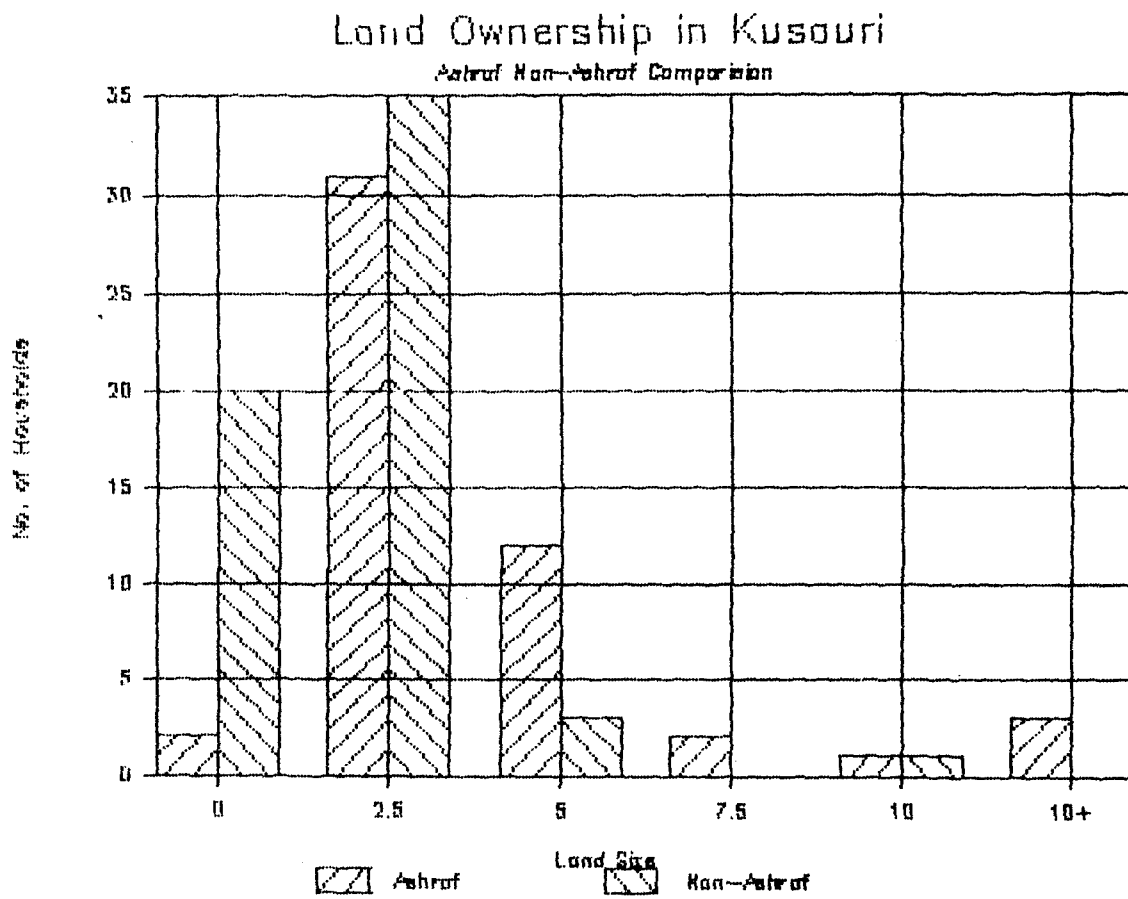


Figure 4.1

**Table 4.9:** Wet Land Ownership in Kussori

Land Size	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
0	6	29	35
0.1 - 2.5	30	29	59
2.6 - 5.0	10	0	10
5.1 - 7.5	1	0	1
7.6 - 10.0	2	1	3
10.1 & above	2	0	2
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.10:** Extent of Dry Land in Kussori

Land Size	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
0	35	42	77
0.1 - 2.5	15	16	31
2.6 - 5.0	1	1	2
5.1 - 7.5	0	0	0
7.6 - 10.0	0	0	0
10.1 & above	0	0	0
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.11:** Leasing-Out Pattern in Kussori

Land Size	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
0	42	58	100
0.1 - 2.5	7	0	7
2.6 - 5.0	0	0	0
5.1 - 7.5	1	0	1
7.6 - 10.0	0	1	1
10.1 & above	1	0	1
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.12:** Leasing-in Pattern in Kussori

Land Size	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
0	45	53	98
0.1 - 2.5	6	6	12
2.6 - 5.0	0	0	0
5.1 - 7.5	0	0	0
7.6 - 10.0	0	0	0
10.1 & above	0	0	0
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)



**Table 4.13:** Total Work-Days in the Whole Year, Kussori

Months	Non-		Total
	Ashraf	Ashraf	
0	7	18	25
3	9	22	31
6	5	7	12
9	2	1	3
12	28	11	39
	0	0	0
Total	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.14:** Total Labor Days

Labor	Non-		
Days	Ashraf	Ashraf	Total
0	7	29	36
90	38	29	67
180	4	1	5
270	1	0	1
360	1	0	1
	51	59	110

(Source: Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.15: Caste Ranking**

Caste	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
Khan	110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	110
Sheikh	0	110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	110
Siddiqui	0	0	110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	110
Ansari	0	0	0	68	25	3	2	1	7	2	0	2	0	110
Kashai	0	0	0	22	36	12	8	1	18	8	5	0	0	110
Dhunia	0	0	0	12	17	19	23	4	17	9	9	0	0	110
Nai	0	0	0	2	15	11	36	3	13	17	12	1	0	110
Kankali	0	0	0	0	8	24	15	8	22	19	14	0	0	110
Gaddi	0	0	0	1	3	25	14	2	17	30	18	0	0	110
Mali	0	0	0	3	6	12	11	5	14	21	37	1	0	110
Bhangi	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	106	110
Nat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	2	3	75	0	110
Darji	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	55	2	2	11	30	4	110
Total	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	

(Sources : Village Study, 1992)

**Table 4.16:** Enrollment in Schools/Universities in Kussori

	Ashraf	Non-Ashraf	Total
Nursary	11	0	11
Primary	0	8	8
Maqtab	1	50	51
Middle	2	1	3
Matric	8	0	8
10+2	2	0	2
Graduate*	3	0	3
P.G.	1	0	1
Research	2	0	2
Total	30	59	89

\* It includes B.A., B.Sc., B.Com. & B.Tech.

(Sources: Village Study, 1992)

## Chapter - 5

### CONCLUSION

There is a controversy over the term "Caste" whether this could be applied to groups or societies other than Hindus. Caste has been widely used to describe ranked groups. Within rigid systems of social stratification and especially those which constitute the society of Hindu India. Among social scientists, and especially among those who have worked in India, there are basically two views: (1) that the caste system is to be defined in terms of its Hindu attributes and rational and, therefore, is unique to India or at least to South Asia; (2) that the caste system is to be defined in terms of structural features which are found not only in Hindu India but in a number of other societies as well . The important assumption here is that the caste system of stratification constitutes merely a variant of the stratification principle which may be found operative, not only in India, but in other societies too.

In India, the analysis of class stratification has been undertaken by sociologists both of the marxist and non-Marxist

theoretical disposition. The class categories as employed in the census documents and other socio-economic survey agencies are mainly based on attributional criteria of income, occupation or agricultural or non-agricultural modes of earning the livelihood.

Studies which throw light on the class structures and its processes in the traditional Indian society reveal that class structure was related to the modes of production and ownership of property, growth of cities, market and banking institutions and the institutions of power. Kings, feudal chiefs, priests, merchants, artisans, peasants and laborers formed the class categories. Not only the feudal and aristocratic classes, but also the merchant formed an important element of this class structure. In Kussori it is *Zamindars* who formed one class, tenants peasants and laborers yet another.

While analyzing caste and class nexus in India, Sharma (1986: 16) goes on saying that "both caste and class have been debated from narrow ideological standpoint. One extreme view, for example, is that Indian society can be best studied from having a 'caste model' or 'caste perspective'. Caste is viewed as an over-arching ideological system which pervades over all aspects of the life of Hindus in particular and of other communities in general. One of the implications of such a view is that caste is basically an infra-structural basis of Indian society; and

occupations, division of labor, rules of marriage, interpersonal relations, etc. are super structural in nature as they emanate from the ideology of caste. One finds that members of a caste compete with each other; and they are also found cooperating with each other. Class-based distinctions within the caste are found in a pronounced form. Members of a caste in a given village can sometimes be representative of India's class structure. While observing all the pertinent rules of marriage members of a caste may still give premium to class-status in matrimonial alliances".

Both caste and class are real dimensions of India's formation, and by and large inseparable from each other. Class is not simply a category conceptually abstracted. It is not simply a construct based on certain attributes or indices operationally derived. Classes of landowners or landless laborers in Kussori village are not abstractions, but they are existential structural components of village's class structure. Interactional ties both conflict and cooperation between them refer to their life situations.

In Kussori, caste and class represent to a large extent the same structural reality. Singh (1968: 171) comments on caste and class nexus: "The situation corresponds to a 'prismatic' models of change where traditional sentiments of caste and

kinship undergo adaptive transformation without completely being 'diffracted' into classes or corporate groups. Classes operate within the framework of castes."

Caste conflicts are also class conflicts as the gap between the upper and lower caste is also the same that one finds between the high and low classes. Castes also function as classes as they are geared for performing their class interests. Therefore common class consciousness among the members of a caste are mainly due to their common economic deprivations. Caste associations particularly in urban context perform economic and political functions for the benefit of their respective members. Thus castes are more of interactional groups rather than attributional constructs. In Kussori, there is a positive correlation between caste and class. One whose caste position is higher is higher in class position too. There are few exceptions. We find that some aspects of caste system are found among the Muslims of the Kussori village. Such as endogamy, occupational specialization, and hierarchy. All the characteristics of the caste system are not found among the muslims. The caste characteristics which are found among the Muslims of Kussori are not of ritual, religious sanctions, or purity/ pollution but of hierarchy for maintaining social position of the caste mainly based on the notion of high and low positions due to their socio economic background in the village.



In the context of the agrarian social structure of Kussori it has been observed that classes are hierarchically arranged according to their ownership or non-ownership of the means of production. One who works in the fields or one who is a laborer, and the other who does not work in the field, his class position is determined by the type of ownership and control and the types of services contributed to the process of production. Thus a distinction is made in village between landlords, tenants and agricultural laborers. We have observed intra Ashraf tensions in Kussori. The Zamindars who have played a major role in the past, in the day to day affairs of the village want their dominance to be continued in the present time. On the other hand Sheikh and Siddiqui due to their numerical strengths want that they must be concerned in the decision making. That is why it is seen that in the election of the *Pardhan* they have played a major role in it. Due to their numerical strength, at present, village *Pardhan* is from them. Khans who were landlords their presence could be felt in the wider circles of the Legislative and Parliamentary election. No doubt their role in the election of the village *Pardhan* is decisive. Caste and class that resemble each other can be seen in the respect of other sphere of life. Taking education as an example as it is seen earlier in the study. It is seen that it is Ashraf whose children are getting education in comparison of non-Ashraf. Even in Ashraf, we find

that there is disparity in it. Ashraf who comprised of Khan, Sheikh and Siddiqui, it is seen that it is Khan's children who are getting modern education. It is because that they were already well built, it is they, who were, we find adopting modern type of education. It is from them that at present two governments jobs are held by them. It is they who are getting University level education. There is only one student outside Khan's family getting education in University. Taking politics, it is seen that it is Zamindar's family who is associated with this business. Since Zamindar's family had already influence in the area and outside. That is why it takes no time for establishing rapport with public. Thus it is seen that whose caste status is high his being high in class status is very much vulnerable. One who is already well built his being stronger in other fields is very much there.

In the study it was found that in Kussori there were 13 castes. It was seen that there is no differences in opinion of ranking, of Khan, Sheikhs and Siddiqui. They were ranked by all as 1st, 2nd and 3rd respectively. These castes constitute as Ashraf in the study. It was seen in the study as it is earlier proved that it is these castes who consist as upper class. There is differentiation among the Ashraf as well. If demarcation is made it will be seen that it is Khan among Ashraf who are at the top in the class position of course. Sheikh and Siddiqui is

ranked as 2nd and 3rd respectively. There is differences in the other castes ranking. At bottom it was found that it is Bhangi who is placed here by 106 respondents out of 110.

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## Appendix A

## Appendix A

### Schedule for Data Collection in Kussori

Schedule (Field Study in Kussori, Dist. Basti during August-September, 1992).

1. Name of the household's head: Age, Sex

2. Caste:

3. The number of persons in the family:

Men:            Women:    Children (Below 18 years)

    working persons in the household:

Men:    Women:            Children (Below 18 years)

5. Dependents:    Men:    Women:

Children:    (Below 18 years )

6. Why do you practice endogamy (a) Desire to maintain purity of blood (b) To match spouses sharing the same social background (c) Any other reason (Specify)

7. Practice of inter-caste marriage in your family: (a) In the present generation (b) Your son's generation (c) Your grand son's generation (d) Your father's generation (e) Your grand father's generation

8. Occupational specialization: (a) Hereditary (b) Non-hereditary (c) Both

9. Hierarchy: (a) According to your caste (b) According to your religious knowledge, and age (c) According to your economic status

10. How do you ranked various castes in your village: (a) Khan (b) Sheikh (c) Siddiqui (d) Ansari (e) Khashi (f) Dhunia (g) N (h) Kankari (i) Gaddi (j) Mali (k) Bhangi (l) Nai (m) Darji

11. With whom will you dine (a) Any caste (b) Of your own caste

12. The total extent of land owned by all the members of household:

13. The extent of wet land: (a) Extent of fertile land (b) Extent of ordinary land

14. Extent of dry land: (a) Extent of fertile land (b) Extent of ordinary land

15. The extent of land leased- out by the household: (a) Wet land (b) Dry land

16. The extent of land leased-in by the household: (a) Wet land (b) Dry land

17. The rate of rent to be paid by the tenant to the owner per acre: (a) In grain (b) In cash (c) In double or multi crops (d) Other terms of leased

18. Workdays and Earnings: (a) The total number of days(in months) all the household members,

work in the whole year on all the crops on the household holding (b) The total number of days the household members hire themselves

out to work on other's fields for wages (c) Number of days men hire themselves out for wages in a year (d) Number of days women hire themselves out for wages in a year (e) Number of days children hire themselves out for wages in a year

19. Number of annual farm servants employed by the household: (a) Adult servants (b) Child servants (c) Number of labor days employed by the household (in days) (d) Total number of wage labor days.

20. Educational background:



21. Enrollment of children in Educational Institutions: